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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENTS

NOVEMBER 12, 17, 18, 23, AND DECEMBER 2, 3, AND 16, 1953

PART 16

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ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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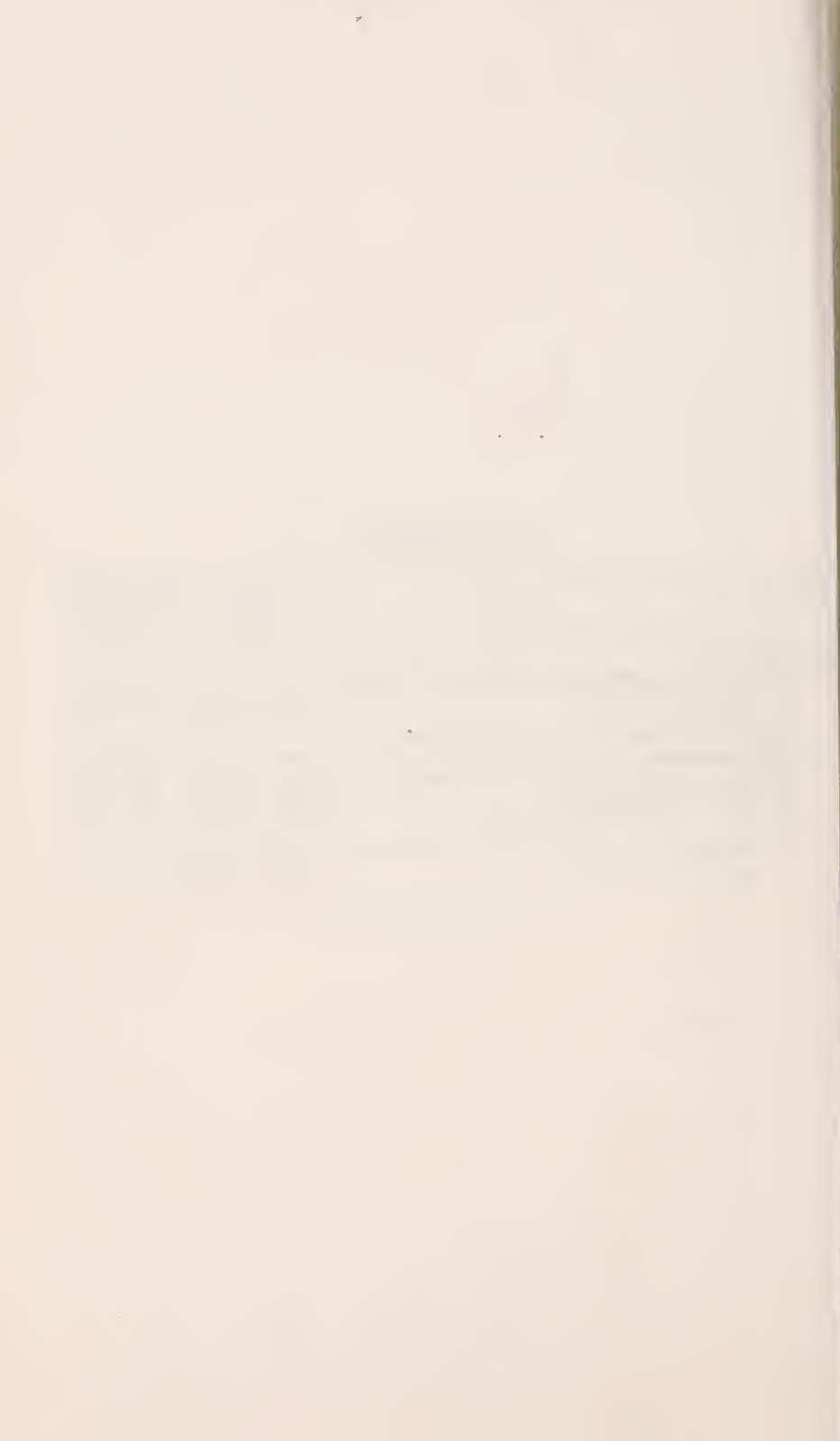
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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE TO
INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2:30 p. m., pursuant to call, in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner and Hendrickson.

Present also: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, committee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Robert McManus and James Walter, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

I want to state for our record that as a corollary of our July 30, 1953, report, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has been trying to determine how it was that nine important officials of Government obtained advances and promotions in the face of derogatory security information.

Evidence before the subcommittee showed clearly that all of these men were implicated in the Communist underground organization directed by Soviet superiors. Despite this fact, these individuals were not only able to stay in the Government employment and to have access to vital Government secrets, but also to gain promotions to even more important posts in the face of impressive derogatory security information.

These nine were not the only persons involved, but the subcommittee felt that all of these cases were important and conclusive. Not necessarily the most important of these was Harry Dexter White.

In the course of its investigation, the subcommittee was informed on October 13 of the existence of a particularly derogatory security report on White. On October 14, at staff level, it asked the Justice Department for a copy of this report. It was a routine inquiry. The subcommittee has not yet received a copy of this report, but has been assured by the Department of Justice that we will receive at least some kind of information which will reveal its general nature, and yet will be consistent with discreet disclosure of security information.

In its handling of the November 1945 security memorandum, the Internal Security Subcommittee has released portions thereof after first ascertaining with utmost care the reliability of the facts recited therein. It also has made a practice of calling as witnesses those named before releasing the security information.

The subcommittee shall continue to proceed with this inquiry in the same careful fashion which has characterized its handling of the earlier report and which has been its practice throughout the past 3 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I give a few of the facts that form the background for this hearing today?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. On April 14, 1953, while Harold Glasser, who is 1 of the 9 cases, was a witness before this committee, the Internal Security Subcommittee introduced into the record a portion of the November 1945 memorandum. This portion read as follows:

N. Gregory Silvermaster, with aliases. This case first came to the attention of the Bureau on November 8, 1945, when Elizabeth Bentley, an official of the United States Service & Shipping, Inc., New York City, came in to the New York office of the Bureau and stated for the past 11 years she had been actively engaged in Communist activity and Soviet espionage. She stated that prior to 1938 she had been an official in various capacities of the Communist Party in New York City. In 1938 she began making contacts with Jacob Golos, the head of World Tourists, Inc., which organization was being used as a cover for the Soviet espionage activity. Golos later organized United States Service & Shipping, Inc., for the same purpose, in 1941.

Under Golos' direction until his death in 1943, Bentley stated that she was used as a courier and liaison between individuals engaged in espionage for the Soviet and Golos. After Golos' death in November 1943, she continued to act as such a courier and liaison under the direction of Earl Browder.

During the latter part of 1944, at the insistence of Soviet representatives in the United States, and with Browder's consent, the various espionage groups with which she had been maintaining liaison were turned over directly to Soviet agents, only one of whom she has been able to identify. The Soviet representative, who has used the cover name "Al," has been identified as Anatoli Gromov, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C., who since his arrival in the United States on September 15, 1944, has been suspected by this Bureau to be the successor in NKVD activities of Vassili Zubilin, former Second Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, who was recalled to the Soviet Union in July 1944. Zubilin was the reported head of all NKVD activity in North America.

Bentley has stated that the espionage agents with whom she had been in contact under Golos' and Browder's direction had been working for the NKVD. The espionage groups with which Bentley worked were primarily employees of the United States Government stationed in Washington, D. C. The head of the most important group originally run by Golos was N. Gregory Silvermaster, at one time an employee of the Department of Labor, and now connected with the United States Treasury Department. Another member of this group, who resides with Silvermaster, is William L. Ullmann, a major in the United States Army Air Forces stationed at the Pentagon Building, who has been responsible for the obtaining and photographing of classified information regarding United States Government war plans, and also reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, copies of which had been furnished to G-2 of the Army at the Pentagon Building.

Other members of this group include A. George Silverman, a civilian employee of the War Department; Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in Charge of Monetary Research and Foreign Funds Control; William Taylor, also an employee of the Treasury Department; Lauchlin Currie, administrative assistant to the President; and other lesser figures.

The report then goes on to relate other members who were, according to this source of information, members of the Soviet underground which was operating in Washington.

That, I say, Mr. Chairman, was introduced into the record on April 14, 1953, and as the various witnesses whose names appeared thereon were called, they were asked about the evidence that appeared in the memorandum.

The CHAIRMAN To complete our record on this important hearing, I would like to ask the chief counsel if the record shows the 1945 memorandum?

Mr. MORRIS. The 1945 memorandum, Mr. Chairman, was the one that I have just described, and pertinent portions thereof I have read.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, all that we have released is in the record?

Mr. MORRIS. Again, Mr. Chairman, 2 weeks ago in New York when we had hearings in the United States courthouse at Foley Square in connection with the United Nations, we did put into the record approximately 8 or 9 further pages of that particular security report.

The genesis of the present hearing is that on October 13, a staff member of this committee was informed by Mr. Lamar Caudle that there was in existence in the files of the Department of Justice—I might point out that Lamar Caudle at that time was Chief of the Criminal Division of the Attorney General's office—that there was in the files of the Attorney General's office a particularly interesting memorandum which indicated rather conclusively that Harry Dexter White, 1 of the 9 people that the committee was interested in, was engaged in Communist activities, and that that might be obtained by our committee.

Accordingly, a staff member of the committee asked the head of the Criminal Division, the present head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, through his assistant, if we could obtain a copy of that report. We have been assured by the Attorney General that we will at least have some kind of information about that report, and that it will be available to this committee as soon as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that there are nine people involved in this series of hearings. I think Mr. Mandel has here a summary of the jobs that they held after November 1945. The significance of the date 1945 is that this was the date of the security memorandum which we know Vice President Nixon has told us was circulated among high Government officials and the President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mandel, will you put into the record these nine individuals' names referred to by Mr. Morris, and also read the job description of their positions?

Senator HENDRICKSON. Mr. Chairman, I understand the nine people include Mr. White; is that correct?

The CHAIRMAN. They do.

Mr. MANDEL. Harold Glasser: In the fall of 1945, Mr. Glasser was a member of an economic mission to Japan. In 1946, he was a member of an economic mission to Germany. As Associate Director and later Director of the Division of Monetary Research in the Treasury Department, Mr. Glasser played a major role in the great financial negotiations of 1946 and 1947, and in the field of foreign policy, both nationally and internationally.

In August 1946 he was an adviser to Mr. Clayton at the fifth session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. He was adviser to Mr. Snyder at the first annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Septem-

ber and October of the same year. Promoted from Associate Director to Director of the Division of Monetary Research, he was adviser to Mr. Clayton at the sixth session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in December of 1946. He attended the four-power conference in Trieste in January 1947, and in March and April of 1947 was special financial consultant on Trieste to General Marshall, at the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Moscow.

Both Mr. Snyder and Mr. Acheson addressed favorable letters in regard to Mr. Glasser to his new employers.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I point out at this time again that the significance of that reading was that they were the positions that Mr. Glasser held subsequent to the time that he was mentioned in this 1945 security memorandum which was circulated.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MANDEL. Alger Hiss: In November 1945, Alger Hiss was Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs in the State Department. This was the office that had paramount concern with international organizations, particularly the United Nations. The Office of Special Political Affairs under Hiss' direction until his departure from the State Department in January 1947, was of major importance in the crucial year of 1946, the formative year of the United Nations.

In his capacity as Director, and as Secretary to the American Delegation, he attended the first part of the first session of the General Assembly in London in January-March, and the second part in New York in the fall of 1946.

His office prepared the papers, recommended the policies, handled all negotiations, both for the United States mission and the United Nations.

Testimony before the Subcommittee on Internal Security also discloses that Mr. Hiss, contrary to the Secretary of State's direction, forwarded a list of names of applicants for positions to the Secretariat of the United Nations. An examination of the State Department directory further discloses that Mr. Hiss made a sizable number of appointments to top positions in his office during this period. Many of these individuals are still in those positions.

When Mr. Hiss resigned from the Department of State in January 1947 to become president of the Carnegie Corp., his farewell party was attended by Mr. Dean Acheson, who praised him as a model Government official.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mandel, just a moment. I want to note the presence of Congressman Harold Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and several members of his committee.

Gentlemen, we are very glad you are here with us.

Proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I point out at this time, that the 1945 security memorandum said the following about Alger Hiss:

Bentley advised that members of this group had told her that Hiss of the State Department had taken Harold Glasser of the Treasury Department, and 2 or 3 others, and had turned them over to direct control by the Soviet representatives in this country. In this regard, attention is directed to Whittaker Chambers' statement regarding Alger Hiss and to the statement by Gouzenko, regarding an assistant to the Secretary of State who was a Soviet agent.

So you see, Mr. Chairman, this memorandum was really showing at that time the three sources of information that Alger Hiss was implicated in the Communist underground activity.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MANDEL. Edward Fitzgerald: Mr. Fitzgerald transferred from the Foreign Economic Administration to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Commerce Department. In July 1946, he became Assistant Chief of the Current Business Analysis Division, Commerce Department, Office of the Secretary, Office of Program Planning. He was subsequently promoted from P-6 to P-7, and at the time of his resignation in September 1946, he was rated a social-science analyst.

Maurice Halperin: Mr. Halperin transferred from a position as Chief of the Latin American Bureau of the Office of Strategic Services to the State Department in October 1945. He remained in the Department until June 1946.

Virginius Frank Coe: Mr. Frank Coe continued as Director of the powerful Division of Monetary Research in the Treasury Department until May 1946. He then resigned to become Secretary of the International Monetary Fund, 1 of the 2 great international organizations in the financial field, which had been planned and projected initially by the Monetary Research Division of the Treasury Department.

Mr. Harry White, who had been Director of that Division during the planning stages, was the first Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund. In his new post Mr. Coe was promoted in 1948, and again in 1950, and when he appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee he was receiving an annual salary of \$20,000. Mr. Coe has since resigned.

Victor Perlo: In December 1945, Mr. Perlo transferred from the War Production Board to the Monetary Research Division of the Treasury Department as an economist and an economic analyst. In March of 1947, he left the Treasury Department to join the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, at a salary of \$8,778.

Harry Magdoff: Mr. Magdoff was chief economic analyst in the Office of Business Economics, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Commerce Department, in December 1945. He was promoted from a P-7 to a P-8 rating in April 1946, and became program planning officer in the Office of the Bureau of the Census, Commerce Department. A few weeks later he was transferred to the Office of Small Business. At the time of his resignation on December 27, 1947, he was program planning officer, at \$9,975 a year.

Irving Kaplan: Mr. Kaplan was in Germany in the fall of 1945 with the Foreign Funds Control Section of the Treasury Department. He returned in December 1945, and was with the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion until 1947, when he became an economic adviser with the Division of Monetary Research at the Treasury Department. In January 1948 he left the national civil service for the Economic Development Section of the United Nations.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, he was in the United Nations as well in the year 1952, when he was subpoenaed by this committee; was he not?

Mr. MANDEL. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And Frank Coe was the Secretary of the International Monetary Fund in December 1952, when he was subpoenaed by this committee; was he not?

Mr. MANDEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your first witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Is Mr. Caudle here? Will you come forward, Mr. Caudle, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Caudle, will you hold up your right hand and be sworn to testify?

Do you swear the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CAUDLE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated. Will you state your full name to the committee?

TESTIMONY OF THERON LAMAR CAUDLE, WADESBORO, N. C.

Mr. CAUDLE. My full name, Senator, is Theron Lamar Caudle.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside?

Mr. CAUDLE. Wadesboro, N. C.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business or profession?

Mr. CAUDLE. I am an attorney at law.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, you may proceed with the questioning of the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Caudle, have you been head of the Criminal Division of the Attorney General's Office in the United States Government?

Mr. CAUDLE. I have.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you hold that position?

Mr. CAUDLE. From September 17, 1945, until about the same time, September or October 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Will you give us a very brief description of your duties as head of the Criminal Division of the Attorney General's Office?

Mr. CAUDLE. The Assistant Attorney General of the Criminal Division supervises all of the criminal litigation in the country. There were at that time about 31,000 criminal statutes that had to be administered, and, of course, you worked in conjunction with the United States attorneys of the 96 different districts. All the criminal laws other than the tax laws and the Sherman and the Clayton Acts, the Sherman Antitrust Act, were administered by this Division.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Caudle, in that position did you receive in the course of business classified FBI reports containing security information?

Mr. CAUDLE. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall in early 1946 receiving an FBI report, a classified FBI report, on a person known as Harry Dexter White?

Mr. CAUDLE. I did, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us your best recollection of that particular episode?

Mr. CAUDLE. I will, but if you would like me to, I would like to preface my remarks concerning a statement you made a while ago, which implied that I called the committee, and notified a member of your staff, which is not—

Mr. MORRIS. We did not say you initiated it, Mr. Caudle. I said you had informed a member of the staff.

Mr. CAUDLE. I would like to say, Mr. Morris, that some time in October, I was in New York and Philadelphia on business, and I

called my home and was informed by Mrs. Caudle that the Times-Herald in Washington was calling me 3 or 4 times a day, and was trying to reach me, that a Mr. Joseph Walter of the Times-Herald was trying to find me. I was not in any mood to talk to newspapers about anything on this business trip, and I would not accept the call until I went to Wadesboro, back to my home. Then a call came through that morning, and it was Mr. James Walter, and not Mr. Joseph Walter, and Mr. James Walter, whom I knew when I was in the Criminal Division, told me that he was identified with the staff of the Internal Security Committee, and that he was informed and had information concerning a confidential memorandum that came to me concerning Harry Dexter White, when I was Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division, and he asked me if that information was not correct.

It being correct, he being a member of your staff, I told the gentleman that such a memorandum did come to me.

I did want to straighten that out, Senator, because I was called by Mr. Walter. I was not calling Mr. Walter.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, a member of our staff, Mr. Walter, contacted you.

Mr. CAUDLE. Yes, sir. He found out about it and contacted me.

Mr. MORRIS. And Mr. Caudle, you drew the conclusion that somebody from the Times-Herald was trying to reach you because you knew that Mr. Walter had been associated with the Times-Herald.

Mr. CAUDLE. Yes, for a long time when I was in the Criminal Division he was a reporter, and I thought he still was until he told me he was a member of your staff.

Mr. MORRIS. And you did tell him after he asked that there was in existence this particularly interesting security memorandum on the person Harry Dexter White?

Mr. CAUDLE. That is right. He told me he had information about the memorandum and that he had information also that such a memorandum came to me. I told the gentleman that there was no use my dodging the question; it was true.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Caudle, will you now give us your best recollection of that episode, that is, that particular FBI report coming into your possession some time early in 1946?

Mr. CAUDLE. Yes, sir. Some time early in 1946, Mr. Morris, I received from the Federal Bureau of Investigation a memorandum that I remember was sealed in the envelope and addressed to my personal attention.

I opened it, of course, and read it. To the memorandum there was a personal memorandum, as I remember, addressed to me from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, explaining that the nomination of Harry Dexter White was under consideration or some phase of it. It was 8 years ago and my memory is too hazy to be exact. There was attached to this covering memorandum a long memorandum consisting of 8 to 15 pages. I do not know how much. It was exclusively devoted to Harry Dexter White, who at that time was an employee of the Treasury Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Did it indicate that Harry Dexter White was a member of the Communist underground?

Mr. CAUDLE. As I remember, it did; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did it give any details supporting that conclusion?

Mr. CAUDLE. I cannot remember any of the details in the memorandum that was sent to me.

Mr. MORRIS. But you are certain that it came to the conclusion or warranted the conclusion that you have stated before this committee?

Mr. CAUDLE. Yes, sir; Mr. Morris. When I read the memorandum over, I became alarmed with the matter and I called the Office of the Attorney General for Mr. Clark, and he was not there. I was told he was over, I think, in Johns Hopkins getting a physical checkup. As I remember, I really thought that the memorandum was sent to me because Mr. Clark was away, and I found that he was away. Be it as it may, I did deliver the memorandum to Mr. Clark, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Caudle, may I break into your testimony at this point? Mr. Chairman, in trying to ascertain the date of this occurrence as related here today by Mr. Caudle, Mr. Mandel, director of research of our committee, has been in touch with Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, and asked them the dates that Attorney General Clark actually was in the hospital.

Mr. Mandel, will you put into the record the date according to your investigation that Mr. Clark was in the hospital?

Mr. MANDEL. The records of Johns Hopkins Hospital disclose that Mr. Tom C. Clark was admitted to the hospital in a private ward in the Marbury Building on February 15, 1946, and that he was discharged on February 26, 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. Would that refresh your recollection in any way Mr. Caudle?

Mr. CAUDLE. No, sir. Those facts were made known to me in executive session. It was 8 years ago, Mr. Morris, and I cannot help but associate Mr. Clark being in Johns Hopkins when I called him. It is just in my mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Caudle, do you know how many other people received that particular memorandum which you have described to the best of your ability here today?

Mr. CAUDLE. I did not know that anyone else had received that memorandum other than that there was an indication, I believe, in the file that a copy of it had been sent to the White House.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you discuss that report with Attorney General Clark?

Mr. CAUDLE. I told Mr. Clark I had read it over, that it was very important, and I wished he would read it over. It was very derogatory toward Harry Dexter White, and that if the facts in the report were true, I hoped he would do what he could to discourage the appointment.

Mr. MORRIS. Discourage the appointment of Harry Dexter White.

Mr. CAUDLE. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You know that the record seems to indicate now that this could have taken place, at least according to Mr. Mandel's information, sometime between the 15th and the 20th, and that actually Harry Dexter White had been appointed—Mr. Mandel, do you have the date on the time Mr. White was actually appointed.

A short chronology here, Mr. Chairman, indicates that on January 23, 1946, Harry Dexter White was nominated to be Director of the International Monetary Fund. On February 4, 1946, an FBI report was sent to the White House, according to Mr. Brownell. On February

6, the United States Senate confirmed Mr. White. On February 7, President Truman signed the commission, and according to this chronology, on April 8, 1947, Mr. White resigned from the Treasury Department to obtain that particular employment.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, I would like to state for the record that this information that White resigned apparently from the Treasury Department on April 30, 1946, to take effect on May 1, 1946, he went on the International Monetary Fund payroll on May 6, which was the date the fund became operative. That means that he stayed on the payroll of the Treasury 3 months after Mr. Byrnes' conversation supposedly with the President.

I have Mr. Byrnes' telegram here in reply to ours and I think it should come at a later time in the record and clarify this whole matter.

(The telegrams appear at p. 1086.)

Senator HENDRICKSON. Mr. Chairman, that is referring to Governor Byrnes?

The CHAIRMAN. Governor Byrnes. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Caudle, can you remember any further conversations with any persons in Government about this particular report? Did you converse with other people and did you take any action?

Mr. CAUDLE. Over in the Department?

Mr. MORRIS. Anywhere, Mr. Caudle.

Mr. CAUDLE. No, sir. I never did take any action. After I delivered it to Mr. Clark, Mr. Morris, I didn't do anything further about the report.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you discussed that report since that time with anybody?

Mr. CAUDLE. I probably have, since your Internal Security Committee report has come out.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words since the hearings of the Internal Security Subcommittee, they have refreshed your recollection about the report?

Mr. CAUDLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. But you have taken no open position except for your statement to Mr. Walter of this committee?

Mr. CAUDLE. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, would you receive into the record at this time by way of summation some of the evidence that the Internal Security Subcommittee has gathered in the course of the last 3 years about Harry Dexter White?

The CHAIRMAN. It should go into the record at this point and become a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you put into the record at this time the testimony before the Internal Security Subcommittee of Elizabeth Bentley? In staff conference we designated certain portions of her testimony that would be appropriate to this particular part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. May we have order, please. Proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MANDEL. This is taken from the report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee dated July 2, 1952, from which I quote the following:

Miss Bentley also testified that White, while Under Secretary of the Treasury, devised a plan whereby his superior, Secretary Morgenthau, should be induced to effect exchange of all classified material between all sensitive agencies and the

Treasury. According to the testimony, this plan was carried out, and the secrets of all sensitive agencies were thus made accessible to the Soviets through White. Notes in White's handwriting were found among the Chambers "pumpkin papers."

That is on pages 422 and 492 of the hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Elizabeth Bentley has testified that both Currie and White aided her in her work for Soviet military intelligence.

That is on pages 418 and 423 of the IPR hearings.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, there is one particular exchange of testimony that I think would be particularly appropriate at this time. In 1952 Miss Bentley testified as follows; Senator Ferguson asking the questions:

Did you have trouble or difficulty in moving agents that you had into strategic positions in Government or in the Army that you were talking about that you did not want them where there was danger, but you wanted them in strategic positions?

For example, Silvermaster. Did you have trouble moving people such as that or how much were they moved to strategic positions so that you could get your information?

Miss BENTLEY. We didn't have too much trouble. In the case of Silvermaster he pulled strings and got in there.

Senator FERGUSON. What were your avenues for placing people in strategic positions?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say that two of our best ones were Harry Dexter White and Lauchlin Currie. They had an immense amount of influence and knew people and their word would be accepted when they recommended someone.

The CHAIRMAN. Does our record show who Lauchlin Currie was and where he was employed?

Mr. MORRIS. At that time Lauchlin Currie was Executive Assistant to the President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there another section you have there, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL (reading):¹

Miss BENTLEY. Harry Dexter White, I couldn't tell you that he actually has been a member of the party but to all intents and purposes he was because he followed its discipline. According to Nathan Silvermaster he was afraid to meet people like myself. He had for sometime been working for an agent who had turned sour, later identified as Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Sourwine, do you have any questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any questions to ask the witness, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Caudle, do you remember who in the Federal Bureau of Investigation signed the covering memorandum with which this White report came to you?

Mr. CAUDLE. No, sir. All of the covering memorandums from the FBI that came to me came in the name of the Director, Mr. Hoover, to me, and then probably the one who would approve it would initial the other side. All of them came in the name of the Director.

The CHAIRMAN. Further questions? Senator Hendrickson, any questions?

Senator HENDRICKSON. One or two questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Caudle, I understand you had two conversations with Attorney General Clark concerning this report on the same day; is that correct?

¹ P. 420, Institute of Pacific Relations hearings.

Mr. CAUDLE. As I remember, Senator, I had a conversation with him on the telephone, a brief conversation, and then I had a conversation with him——

Senator HENDRICKSON. That was the conversation which took place from the hospital, is that correct?

Mr. CAUDLE. On the telephone, as I remember it; yes, sir. Then the next conversation was the brief one I had when I delivered the copy of the report that came to me, to him.

Senator HENDRICKSON. That was on the same day?

Mr. CAUDLE. As I remember, on the same day; yes, sir.

Senator HENDRICKSON. That was a personal conversation?

Mr. CAUDLE. A personal conversation.

Senator HENDRICKSON. In which you discussed the report?

Mr. CAUDLE. Yes, sir; I told him I read it over and it looked very bad and that I hoped he would give it his immediate attention because I believed that if the facts as stated in the memorandum were true, this man was thoroughly unfit for public office and ought not to be nominated.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Now, Mr. Caudle, when you had this conversation with the Attorney General at the hospital, could it have been possible that the hospital that you were talking to would have been one of the service hospitals, either Walter Reed or the Naval Hospital?

Mr. CAUDLE. Senator, it could have been, of course, I just don't remember. It has been 8 years ago. I do not remember any of the contents of the memorandum concerning Dexter White, except I do remember the tremendous impression its contents made upon me.

Senator HENDRICKSON. I raise that question because the testimony indicates, the record indicates, rather, that the Attorney General was a patient at Johns Hopkins Hospital, but he might well have had medical or physical checkup at one of the service hospitals prior to becoming a patient.

You don't know about that?

Mr. CAUDLE. No, sir, I am not positive about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I think he has testified fully on that.

Are there no further questions? You are excused, Mr. Caudle.

Mr. CAUDLE. May I be permanently excused, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused, sir.

Mr. Morris, do we have anything in our records that show activity of Harry Dexter White in the negotiations between Japan and the United States prior to Pearl Harbor?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I would like to call the attention of the committee to a particular excerpt² from the report that the Internal Security Subcommittee filed with the Senate after its hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The CHAIRMAN. Read it into the record and it may become a part of this record.

Mr. MORRIS (reading) :

In November of 1941 war and peace in the Pacific were at a precarious balance. Representatives of the Japanese Government were in Washington conferring with Secretary of State Hull regarding the issue which divided Japan and the United States. During the conversations a modus vivendi was proposed under

which the two Nations would agree to a 90-day truce, while negotiations continued.

As late as November 25, the *modus vivendi* was still under consideration. On the next day, however, Secretary Hull rejected the idea, and sent a strong note to the Japanese. Twelve days later the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor.

Beneath the surface of these well-publicized events, other things had been happening. To understand them, it is necessary first to understand that the fundamental longtime strategy of the U. S. S. R. to protect the "soft underbelly" of its eastern frontier against Japanese encroachment, was to turn the tide of Japanese advance southward, and involve Japan in a war with the United States, so that the United States and nations with possessions south of Japan would relieve the pressure on the Soviet frontier.

Richard Sorge, one of the ablest of the Kremlin's spies, was in Tokyo in pre-Pearl Harbor days as the head of an espionage ring which had two objectives:

- (1) To obtain intelligence information regarding Japanese military intentions;
- (2) To influence Japanese policy away from an attack on the Soviet Union and toward an attack on the United States, Great Britain, and the Dutch East Indies.

This is footnoted:

Mitsusada Yoshikawa, director of the Special Investigation Bureau of the Attorney General's Office of the Japanese Government, testified that Sorge, working through Ozaki and Saionji sought to impress on the Japanese officials that if they struck north, their forces would encounter powerful Red armies, there would be little of value in Siberia, and she would probably meet greater difficulties than in her war with China. If Japan struck south, it was pointed out, she would find many useful resources and, besides, Japan historically has always failed in any military missions toward the north.

Sorge at that time was attached to the German Embassy in Tokyo. His assistant was Hotsumi Ozaki who was adviser to the Japanese Premier. Kin-kazu Saionji, a descendant of a Japanese hero, aided Ozaki. Saionji had been secretary of the Japanese Council of the IPR and Ozaki a delegate to the 1936 IPR conference in the United States. Included in the ring were Guenther Stein, Chungking correspondent of the IPR, and Agnes Smedley, a short-time member of the IPR.

Lattimore was in Chungking with Chiang as the personal representative of the President of the United States, during the days when the *modus vivendi* was under consideration. On November 25 Lattimore wired Lauchlin Currie, executive assistant to the President, asking Currie to "urgently advise the President" of Chiang's opposition to the *modus vivendi*. His dispatch warned that Japan should not escape "military defeat by diplomatic victory."

At the same time, Edward C. Carter was in New York when he received a deigram from Harry Dexter White, then Under Secretary of the Treasury, asking him to come to Washington immediately. Carter testified that he had been called to Washington because White sought his aid to prevent a "sellout of China," but by the time he reached Washington, the "sellout" had been averted.

The term "sellout" there is in quotes. It is the expression used by Mr. Carter.

On November 29 Carter wrote that he had seen Lauchlin Currie on the 28th. In that letter Carter expressed the feeling that Currie "probably had a terribly anxious time for the past week. For a few days it looked as though Hull was in danger of selling China and America and Britain down the river. Currie did not say this but I learned it from other high sources."

Elizabeth Bentley has testified that both Currie and White aided her in her work for Soviet Military Intelligence. Whittaker Chambers gave corroboration to her testimony about White.

Mr. MORRIS. The next witness is General Vaughan.

The CHAIRMAN. General Vaughan, will you hold your right hand up to be sworn and testify. Do you swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF HARRY HAWKINS VAUGHAN, MAJOR GENERAL (RETIRED), FORMERLY MILITARY AIDE TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY F. JOSEPH DONOHUE AND CHARLES PATRICK CLARK, ATTORNEYS AT LAW, WASHINGTON, D. C.

General VAUGHAN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated.

Will you state your full name to the committee?

General VAUGHAN. Harry Hawkins Vaughan.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside, General Vaughan?

General VAUGHAN. No. 3 Forest Hill Road, Alexandria, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business or profession?

General VAUGHAN. I was retired from the Army on the 1st of last February.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, you may proceed with the questioning of the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you an assistant to the most recent President of the United States, Harry Truman?

General VAUGHAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what particular time you served in that capacity?

General VAUGHAN. Might I at this time read a short statement that I read in the executive session?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

General VAUGHAN. At the time the subpoena issued by this committee of the Senate was served upon me, I had some serious doubts as to the propriety of my answering any question concerning the confidential relationship which existed between me as military aide to the then President, Mr. Truman. However, that doubt has been resolved in my mind as a result of having been advised that President Truman has authorized me to answer fully insofar as I can any question concerning the subject matter of the inquiry for which this subpoena was issued.

The CHAIRMAN. General Vaughan, we will let the record show at this time you are present here with your counsel.

General VAUGHAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you please state your name and give your address?

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. F. Joseph Donohue, 503 D Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Donohue.

Mr. DONOHUE. I am a member of the bar of the District of Columbia.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Proceed, Mr. Morris, with the questioning.

Mr. MORRIS. General Vaughan, I think you were about to tell us when your duties commenced as assistant to the President of the United States, and how long they continued.

General VAUGHAN. I was appointed aide to the President of the United States a few days after Mr. Truman assumed that office. I don't remember the exact date. The record will show that.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in military service at that time?

General VAUGHAN. I was in the military service at that time. I had been aide to the Vice President.

Mr. MORRIS. That is Vice President Truman.

General VAUGHAN. Truman.

Mr. MORRIS. Then how long did you perform those duties?

General VAUGHAN. Until the 20th of January last.

Mr. MORRIS. That was the termination of Mr. Truman's term in office.

General VAUGHAN. Correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did your service with the United States Army continue after that time?

General VAUGHAN. I was retired on the 1st day of February. That was 10 days later.

Mr. MORRIS. General Vaughan, was it your practice, serving in that capacity, to receive classified FBI reports on various individual employees in the United States Government?

General VAUGHAN. I received reports. I can't recall how many of them were classified at this time. I received those reports and conveyed them to the President.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, it was a regular thing for FBI reports to be submitted to you?

General VAUGHAN. Yes, sir. They all came through my office.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you make any record of those reports as they came into your office?

General VAUGHAN. No sir, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any particular recollection of a report prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in approximately November 1945, and circulated throughout the Government at a period shortly later than that, which set forth rather extensively the general situation with respect to Communist and Soviet activities among United States citizens serving in the United States Government?

General VAUGHAN. No, I do not at this time recall any specific report. It was not my duty to act upon this, and I was really simply a means of conveyance.

Mr. MORRIS. If the Attorney General of the United States in the possession of the official records of the United States tells this committee that there was in existence and there was circulated to you for the President of the United States such a report, would you dispute that statement?

General VAUGHAN. I would not question it for a moment.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you would not?

General VAUGHAN. I would not.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you do remember receiving these reports, you have no particular recollection about this particular report, but if the records indicate that you had received it for the President, you would not dispute that fact?

General VAUGHAN. I would not; that is right.

Mr. MORRIS. With respect to the second memorandum, this memorandum which we describe as the second memorandum, being a memorandum specifically on the personality of Harry Dexter White, can you recall, in the position that you just described to us, receiving such a report on Harry Dexter White?

General VAUGHAN. No, I cannot recall that, either, but the same goes for that as for the others.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, if the Attorney General has stated that the records indicate that you received such a report for the President of the United States, then you would not dispute that fact?

General VAUGHAN. No, I would not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. General Vaughan, as I understand it, you took no action whatever. You did not try to evaluate or determine the importance of any of these reports?

General VAUGHAN. It was not my duty.

The CHAIRMAN. You were merely a conveyor of the report on to the President of the United States?

General VAUGHAN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever discussed the contents of any of these reports with the President of the United States?

General VAUGHAN. On several occasions I would receive reports directed to me. They were not thought of sufficient immediate interest to be called to the President's attention. They would be of general interest on subversive activities in certain parts of the country or in certain parts of the world. The covering letter would say, "This is called to your attention as it may be of interest to the President." A report of that kind, I would look it over, and if there was something that commanded the President's attention, I would call it to his attention. Otherwise, it would go in the general file.

Mr. MORRIS. Suppose it would be if the particular reports we are talking about had appended to them such a statement, that would not vary the testimony you have given up to this time?

General VAUGHAN. No, it would not.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. General Vaughan, you have testified that you frequently got FBI reports on individuals. Did you in all cases give those reports to the President if they were marked for him?

General VAUGHAN. Anything that was marked for the President went over to him, if not the day I received it, certainly no later than the next day if the President was in town, and when I was in town. I will say it the other way. When the President was in town, I was usually in town.

Mr. SOURWINE. The point I am trying to make, sir, is whether you yourself gave those reports to the President or sent them routinely through some other form of delivery?

General VAUGHAN. I, usually, at the staff meeting in the morning, laid them on the table behind the President's desk for his attention when he got around to it.

Mr. SOURWINE. So any such report that came to you, you know it was delivered to the President?

General VAUGHAN. It was; yes, sir.

Senator HENDRICKSON. General, how many of these reports did you receive in the course of a week?

General VAUGHAN. Senator, that varied; probably some weeks 2 or 3, and some weeks 15 or 20.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Did you keep any office record of these reports?

General VAUGHAN. No, sir, I did not. I had one stenographer. My staff consisted of one young lady at that time. There was a lot of material.

Senator HENDRICKSON. So there is no record of the reports that passed through your hands?

General VAUGHAN. In my office; no sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, do you have further questions to ask?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; Mr. Chairman I would like to ask General Vaughan two more questions.

General Vaughan, did you keep a diary or record of any of these reports?

General VAUGHAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was your secretary at that particular time?

General VAUGHAN. Ruth Anderson. She has since married and I can't recall at the moment her present name. Ruth Anderson.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you describe for the record the duties performed by Ruth Anderson at that time?

General VAUGHAN. Ruth Anderson had general secretarial duties. She wrote my letters, she answered the phone, she handled my appointments, she did all the filing, she did practically everything that was done in a secretarial way in the office.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have subpoenaed Ruth Anderson and we did hear her testimony, as you know, in executive session today. Everything she told this committee coincided with the testimony given by General Vaughan, namely, that she was his secretary, that she did keep the records, that she did these things in the ordinary course of business, that she had no recollection of these particular reports, and is in no position to confirm or deny the existence of these particular reports.

In view of that fact, and in view of the fact that there is no conflict between her testimony and the testimony given here by General Vaughan, I submit that it probably is not necessary to call her at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct. Are there further questions?

Senator HENDRICKSON. General Vaughan, in the course of a day if you received a report and you did not have the opportunity to turn it over to the President of the United States, what would happen to the report overnight, let us say?

General VAUGHAN. If the report was marked classified, I had a safe. It went into the safe. If it was not classified material, it stayed in a desk drawer where I had a folder where I put things that were to be delivered to the President or called to his attention.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Did anyone else have access to this safe?

General VAUGHAN. No one, sir, but myself.

Senator HENDRICKSON. You do not recall ever putting into the safe a report treating with one Harry Dexter White?

General VAUGHAN. No, sir; I cannot recall that.

Senator HENDRICKSON. That is all.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I think while General Vaughan is still on the stand, and I think it is appropriate for our record at this particular juncture, I would like to read into the record two excerpts from the statement of Attorney General Brownell on this particular incident. I read these because they will dovetail with the testimony given by General Vaughan.

Mr. Brownell stated on Friday, November 6, 1953:

But I can now announce officially, for the first time in public, that the records in my Department show that White's spying activities for the Soviet Government were reported in detail by the FBI to the White House by means of a report delivered to President Truman through his military aide, Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, in December of 1945.

Again on November 9, 1953, Mr. Brownell stated the records in the Department of Justice show that months prior to White's entering upon office, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on two separate occasions sent reports describing White's spying activities to the White House to the attention of the President, with copies also to other important officials in the Truman administration.

The first of these occasions was on December 4, 1945:

As I mentioned in my speech last Friday, on that day the FBI transmitted to Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, military aide to the President, for the attention of the President a general report on the subject of Soviet espionage activity in the United States, which report was dated November 27, 1945 and contained among other things a summary of the espionage activities of Harry Dexter White as of that date. Because of the general nature of this report, copies were sent by the FBI to other top administration officials, and the records show that copies were sent by the FBI on December 4, 1945, to—

listing other people who were associated with this particular witness, but since he is on the stand now, I would like to terminate the reading of this at this particular time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. If there are no further questions, you will stand aside and be excused.

General VAUGHAN. Thank you, gentlemen.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as former Secretary of State Byrnes, now Governor Byrnes, was mentioned in this particular memorandum, the committee was anxious to determine from Mr. Byrnes his recollection of this particular episode. On Monday evening I phoned Governor Byrnes through his administrative assistant, Mr. McCullough, in South Carolina, and told him the facts relating to this particular memorandum, and asked him if he would be responsive to inquiries by this particular subcommittee on this particular set of facts.

After discussion of all the possibilities through which this information could be imparted, namely, the possibility of his being subpoenaed, his appearing voluntarily as a witness, or submitting statements, it was agreed that he would respond if questions were submitted by this subcommittee to him.

(A statement of Governor Byrnes, issued to the press on November 9, 1953, was sent to the subcommittee by Governor Byrnes and was ordered to appear in the record at this point. It follows:)

STATEMENT OF GOV. JAMES F. BYRNES, NOVEMBER 9, 1953

I do not recall the date but on the afternoon of the day preceding the confirmation by the United States Senate of the nomination of Harry Dexter White as Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund a representative of Mr. Edgar Hoover delivered to my secretary a copy of a report about Mr. White and his affiliation with Communists, which report I was advised had been sent to the White House. This was the only report about White that was called to my attention. I was out of the country the greater part of December 1945.

The following day, after I had read the report, I requested an engagement with the President. That afternoon I was invited to come to the White House.

I told President Truman I had received a copy of the report sent to him by Mr. Hoover, that I was shocked by its contents, and I asked what he intended to do about it. The President stated he had read the report and that he also was surprised.

When I asked the status of the nomination of Mr. White, he said it was still pending in the Senate. I told him, in view of the charges contained in Hoover's report, I thought he should immediately ask the Senate to withhold action and then withdraw the nomination.

The President had a member of his staff telephone to Mr. Leslie Biffle, the Secretary of the Senate. The President asked Mr. Biffle the status of the nomination, but did not give Biffle any reason for his inquiry. Mr. Biffle stated that the nomination had been favorably acted upon that afternoon.

The President apparently was as disappointed as I was by the statement of Mr. Biffle. In further discussing the matter, I suggested to the President he might ask someone in the Senate about moving to reconsider the vote by which the nomination was approved. He did not think well of that suggestion. I then suggested to him that the only other thing he could do would be to refuse to issue a commission to White. He said he had been advised on a previous occasion that once the Senate had acted he could be required to sign a commission. I told him if he should send for White and tell him about Hoover's report, White would never resort to the courts.

I got the impression that the President was disposed to follow that course. However, he said he wanted to think it over.

During our conversation the President had told me he appointed White upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Vinson. Later that afternoon Mr. Vinson came to my office. He said the President had told him of what had occurred and of my recommendation. Mr. Vinson was quite worried about it. However, I got the impression that he agreed with my suggestion that the President refuse to commission White. He said he was going to talk with the President again about it.

I heard no more from either of them about the matter, but later I noticed in the press that White was commissioned by the President and became Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund.

JAMES F. BYRNES.

MR. MORRIS. We have directed two questions to Governor Byrnes, and his answer came around noon today. I would like both of them to be in the record.

THE CHAIRMAN. Would you first read the questions sent to Governor Byrnes of South Carolina. Around noon today I received a telegram in my office in reply to those questions. For the record will you read the questions which were sent to him?

MR. MORRIS. Question No. 1:

Have you any recollection as to the identity of the White House official who handled for President Truman in your presence the telephone call to Leslie Biffle, secretary of the Senate, in reference to the nomination of Harry D. White? Will you recount the conversation in as much detail as you recall?

The second question is:

After you learned that White had been confirmed, did you do anything further about the matter? If so, whether you wrote or spoke about it or left memoranda or gave instructions. Please give details as fully as possible.

THE CHAIRMAN. Here is the telegram that I received around noon today from Governor Byrnes:

Replying to the first question in your telegram, I cannot state the identity of the person who handled, for President Truman, his call to Mr. Biffle. It is my recollection that the President's desk phone was connected with all the offices at the White House, but whether the person to whom he spoke was the White House telephone operator or some other member of his staff, I do not know. There was no reason why he should tell me and no reason why I should pay any attention to who was handling his call.

Last Monday night I was advised by representatives of the press that Attorney General Brownell had mentioned me as one of the several members of the Cabinet

who received a copy of the Hoover report about Mr. White. Only then, in answer to press inquiries, did I state my recollection of my conversation with the President. That statement was published, a signed copy I will mail you today.

In response to your request for further details of that conversation after more than 7 years I would not attempt to recall everything that was said. I do recall discussing some of the statements in the FBI report. The FBI does not sit as a court but reports all information. I said that while some of the statements would not be admissible in court against Mr. White, nevertheless the whole report aroused such serious suspicion that I thought he should try to stop the confirmation of the appointment. The President reached the same conclusion and I am satisfied that, had the nomination not been acted upon, he would have stopped confirmation.

I do not have access to the files of the State Department. Yesterday afternoon the press announced that the State Department had found in its files a copy of the following memorandum:

FEBRUARY 5, 1946.

Memorandum for the President:

The enclosed letter addressed to Mr. Frederick Lyon, of this Department, by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the enclosures referring to Harry Dexter White, I deem of such importance that I think you should read them.

J. F. B.

This memorandum shows I sent it to the President the afternoon of February 5 before talking with the President about it on February 6.

Your question No. 2 is answered in my statement of Monday night.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES F. BYRNES.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will you accept for the record the statement described in that telegram and make it a part of the record?

Senator HENDRICKSON. Mr. Chairman, the statement should appear, it seems to me, just preceding the questions.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record at that point and will become a part of the record, and also the statement issued which is being sent to me by mail will become a part of the record.

(The statement referred to appears on p. 1085.)

Senator HENDRICKSON. I was referring to Governor Byrnes' public statement.

The CHAIRMAN. He is mailing that to me. We want his official copy, rather than taking it from the press. It will go into the record and become a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, there are a few other details, a few other documents I would like to offer for the record at this time. They relate to the general work of the subcommittee in pursuing the line of inquiry indicated by the hearings today.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. We have in the course of our investigations, particularly in our handling of the security memorandum of November 1945, noticed that Igor Gouzenko, associate code clerk, was particularly knowledgeable with respect to the rather extensive espionage activities being conducted in the United States.

I have a statement made by then Prime Minister Mackenzie King, which indicated that Igor Gouzenko did have information that related to espionage carried out within the United States. Certain espionage activity was of interest to the United States. I would like to offer that for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The document, which is an excerpt from the printed record of the proceedings of the Canadian Parliament on March 18, 1946, is as follows:)

Mr. MACKENZIE KING. Mr. Speaker, on Friday afternoon last I expressed the hope that honorable members of this House would read with care the interim reports which had been presented by the two justices of the Supreme Court of Canada who are acting as commissioners to conduct an investigation into the disclosure of secret information to unauthorized persons for communication to a foreign power. This afternoon my honorable friend, the leader of the opposition, asked me to take the House and the country into my confidence with reference to matters pertaining to this investigation. May I say at the outset that in this I am necessarily confronted with one serious handicap, one to which I have referred in a statement which I have given to the public, namely, that the whole matter is one which is sub judice at the present time. For that reason there is very much that I should like to impart to the House and to the country which unfortunately I will not be able to impart and which cannot be given to the House or the country until those who have been or may be committed for trial have had their trial and evidence has been taken in public upon which verdicts will be based.

I have been asking myself at what point one would necessarily have to draw the line with respect to what is not permissible because of matters being sub judice and, up to what point matters might be discussed quite frankly. I am right, I believe, in assuming that anything that took place of which I had knowledge up to the time of the appointment of the commission and which influenced the Government in its action with respect to the course it took in appointing the commission and in acting on the advice of the commission in certain particulars would be a matter that I should be quite free to discuss openly, being careful all the time not to say anything, if that is possible, that would in any way prejudice the trials that may take place.

I do not think I can do better in speaking to the question itself and giving to the House at once some idea of its vast significance and importance than to quote from the first interim report of the royal commission. I am not disclosing anything that should not be disclosed because of sub judice reasons if I quote from a published report which is in the hands of all honorable members of Parliament. Therefore, I would bring immediately to the attention of the House the gravity of this question and its far-reaching significance and importance by reading what the commissioners have said with respect to the inquiry they are holding, what they have found thus far, and what they have felt should be given as soon as possible to the public. On page 11 in the document which was tabled on Friday last relating to the proceedings of the royal commission will be found the following paragraph:

"The evidence establishes that a network of undercover agents has been organized and developed for the purpose of obtaining secret and confidential information particularly from employees of departments and agencies of the dominion government and from an employee of the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada. The evidence reveals that these operations were carried on by certain members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa under direct instructions from Moscow. The person directly in charge of these operations was Colonel Zabotin, military attaché of the Embassy, who had as his active assistants in this work, Lieutenant Colonel Motinov, chief assistant military attaché, Lieutenant Colonel Rogov, assistant military attaché, air, Major Sokolov, of the staff of the commercial counselor of the Embassy, Lieutenant Angelov, one of the secretaries of the military attaché as well as other members of the staff of the military attaché, all of whom, as well as the agents whom they employed in the pursuance of their activities, were, in the interests of secrecy, known by undercover names."

In the next paragraph will be found the following:

"We have had before us a former employee of the Russian Embassy at Ottawa, Igor Gouzenko, the cipher clerk of the military attaché, who has described this organization and its functioning, and who has produced original documents, the authenticity of which we accept."

I need scarcely say that these paragraphs describe as serious a situation as has existed in Canada at any time. If the House has had to wait some little time for the information which I intend to give it this evening, it is because the Government have been only too conscious of how serious this situation is and how far-reaching its repercussions may be.

Perhaps I cannot better take the House into my confidence than to begin with an account of how I personally became informed of this situation and how the Government became aware of it. Honorable members perhaps recall that when the first session of this House opened on the 6th of September last we met in the morning to choose a Speaker and the proceedings were to begin at 11 o'clock. Honorable members may have noticed that at that time the House was kept waiting, for a few minutes at least, before I found it possible to come in. What had happened was this—I was informed that morning by the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs that a young man from the Russian Embassy had been to the office of the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent) asking to see the Minister of Justice. He said that he had most important information to impart to the Government, that it disclosed a situation which threatened very seriously conditions in Canada, that it was an extremely serious situation and that he wished to warn the Canadian people with respect to it. He said that he had in his possession documents which would make wholly clear what he was saying and he wished these documents to be in the possession of the Government. He said that he had taken these documents from the vaults of the Russian Embassy and also from among papers which he had collected over a short time with a view of making the disclosure which he now wanted to make.

I was asked what should be done in these circumstances. I replied that I thought this was a case where we could not be too careful or too cautious; that this man represented that he had come from the Russian Embassy; that we could not say whether the documents he had in his possession were fabrications or not; that we did not know what his own state of mind might be, or how responsible he was; that we knew nothing of the circumstances which had caused him to leave the Embassy and come to the Government and that I thought he should be told to go back to the Embassy with the papers he had in his possession.

He had been anxious to see the Minister of Justice. He had not seen the Minister of Justice. He told his story to the secretary of the Minister of Justice, who gave a full account to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, and he gave me the particulars which I have just mentioned.

What I felt most important was to see that nothing should be done which would cause the Russian Embassy to believe that Canada had the least suspicion of anything which was taking place there, or which could be regarded by them as unexpected in the circumstances.

This advice was given to the man who came, whose name has been given in the commission report—Igor Gouzenko. He was a cipher clerk in the Russian Embassy. He had been in the embassy in Ottawa here for some 2 years, associated with the military attaché. Prior to those 2 years he had been for a couple of years in the secret service in the U. S. S. R. He had been trained particularly in ciphering and deciphering messages. That, he claimed, was how he had got possession of the documents to which I have referred.

Perhaps at this point I should indicate what I subsequently learned about Gouzenko's movements. Apparently he left the Embassy around 6:30 in the evening of the day prior to the one at which he went to call at the office of the Minister of Justice. He left with the papers in his possession and went from the Embassy to one of the newspaper offices in this city. It was to the Journal that he went and told his story to one of the persons whom he found in the office. He wanted to see the editor. The editor was not present; but, I am told, he gave a fairly full account of what he believed the people of Canada should know, what he wished to impart, and seemed very anxious that full publicity should be given to the statement which he was making. He claimed that his purpose was to let the Canadian people know of a situation about which he felt they should know. I understand that though his story seemed fantastic he was told—as he had documents with him—that he should go and see the mounted police, that if he had information of this kind they were the persons he should see.

He went back to his house that night. Next morning he came to the office of the Minister of Justice. Not seeing the Minister of Justice he then left for other parts. He had his wife and little child with him. During the course of the day—I need not relate all his movements—he visited the office of the Crown prosecutor in the city and spoke there about his situation, again wishing to give publicity to the information that he had. During the afternoon he left his little child with a neighbor to be cared for, while he and his wife sought to meet others and discuss the situation with them. Then, at night, he went to his home, and when he

was there he asked immediate neighbors, a gentleman and his wife, if they would be kind enough to look after his little child; that he was very fearful that something might happen to him that night, that he felt that by this time it would have been discovered that he had left the Embassy and had taken with him certain papers which were of significance, and that he might expect to be killed in the course of the evening unless he got protection. The persons in whom he confided his situation took him into their apartment along with the little child and had them all stay in one of the rooms. Meantime the gentleman whose apartment it was, seeing the fear and the dread which he had, went to the city police and told them of the situation and asked that protection should be given to him. Arrangements were made with the police to be in the near vicinity lest there should be any incidents.

About midnight there was an incident. His apartment was entered by four persons—I believe he maintains that it was broken into. At any rate, the four persons who entered the apartment were from the Russian Embassy or connected with it. The city police wanted to know from them just why they were there. They claimed immunity, being members of the Embassy. No arrests were made. They were allowed to return to the Embassy. In the meantime, Gouzenko had been safe, secreted as he was in the other apartment. Later in the evening another visit was made to his apartment, but nothing came of it and Gouzenko asked the city police if they could put him in contact with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. He said that he had information which he thought was of importance to Canada and, indeed, to his own country if it could be disclosed, and that he would like to give this information to the Government through the police.

He was promised that he would be taken to the Mounted Police where he could tell his story. Later in the morning he was taken to the Mounted Police, and he gave a full statement, producing the documents that he had in his possession, and asked for protection for his life and the lives of his wife and little child. They were given protection by the police.

The documents were then very carefully studied together with other information he gave.

Let me repeat, from the outset I felt that the situation with which we were confronted was one that could not be viewed too circumspectly. I felt we must make sure what type of person Gouzenko was, and what the motive was that prompted his action. I have come to the conclusion, from the statement which he gave to the police, that his motives were just as he himself described them, a desire to expose a condition which he thought was intolerable and which was likely to work injury to our country and to his own country as well. To the police he made a very careful statement in which he said that he had been in Canada for a couple of years, had been immensely surprised when he came here to see the freedom of the people, the way in which democratic institutions worked in this country. He said that he had been very greatly impressed with the way in which general elections were conducted, the different political parties speaking freely in the open, having candidates who opposed one another and the like. It impressed him deeply in contrast with what he had seen in his own country. He said he felt that, having witnessed for 2 years what this country was doing to assist its ally with munitions, money, and food, and in every other way, and at the same time affording to himself and to others every facility that could be extended in the way of freedom, he could not stand it very much longer, and he had made up his mind that, regardless of what the consequences might be, even if it were life itself, he owed it to the people of this country and to his own people to reveal the condition of affairs as he had come to know it at first hand. And having made up his mind in this way, he then began to gather some of the documents which he felt would be absolutely convincing in themselves if made public.

I wish the house to note that his actions corresponded with that profession. He did not come to the government in the first instance. He went to a newspaper office, and he paid a second visit to a newspaper office with a view to having the documents published and having his story made public. He later came to the police to give them the full story, and the documents which were in his possession.

One may take what view one wishes of Gouzenko. I have stated my impressions as gathered from what evidence has come before me. But what I attach importance to in speaking to the House tonight is not the individual and what he said but the documents which were produced. Some of these documents are in the handwriting of some of the persons who have been examined by the

Commission, while some are in the nature of transcriptions; many of them are cipher messages that have been sent back and forth; some are messages that have come from Britain to Canada and passed on from Canada to the U. S. S. R., and there is much that relates to plans and records that have to do with the manufacture of munitions, explosives, and the like.

It is upon the documents which are in possession of the Government now, and which will be made public as the trials proceed, that such subsequent action as was taken by myself and my colleagues was based. We have not acted upon hearsay. We have taken the reports which have been made to us by the police, and which are verified and authenticated by the documents themselves.

These documents disclose among other things that Canada was being made a base to secure information on matters of very great and grave concern to the United States and also to Great Britain; that information was being sought through agents here with respect to many matters that were of the utmost concern to Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

I speak of myself personally because I must take the main responsibility. In fact, I am prepared to take the whole responsibility if necessary for the steps that have been taken, though the Minister of Justice and myself were together in considering and dealing with the questions that had to be considered. There come times, however, in a government when, sooner or later, the decision as to what course is to be taken has to be made by the head of the administration.

I realized at the outset that this was no small matter, not a domestic matter only, by any means. We could not ignore the evidence that there were in our public service a number of trusted employees who were giving information to agents of a foreign power to be of assistance to the foreign power and that it was clearly necessary that there should be an investigation. It was inevitable that an investigation would have repercussions, having regard to what might be revealed, in many parts of the world, and for that reason one had to consider other nations as well as one's own before taking a step that might come to be considered premature.

I should perhaps have mentioned this as a central feature of the Gouzenko statement. He claimed that what was being created in Canada was a fifth column; that it was being created through Russian agents in contact with the members of the public service and others in this country and that it had extended very far; that the infiltration of this effort had gone in very wide directions and for that reason there was the necessity for the completest investigation. I felt it was my duty, regardless of what might come, immediately to inform both the United States and the United Kingdom of what had been disclosed here and to let those two countries know of the Government's intention to have the matter investigated.

My honorable friend, the leader of the opposition, asked me to inform the House tonight whether, when I visited the United States and the United Kingdom, I informed the authorities there of what I have told the House this evening. I did. I felt my first duty was to visit our immediate neighbor, the United States, to see the President and let him know that there were certain matters being revealed to us here which caused me to feel that Canada might be being used as a base for the discovery and the imparting of information that was of concern to the United States, and I was most anxious to have the President know that we intended to have the whole matter fully investigated.

Before I say anything further I think I ought to let the House know what was the kind of information that was in my possession at the time that I decided to visit the United States and Great Britain, and here again, so that I shall not be imparting any information that might bear on what is sub judice, I shall, I think, be safe if I take the statement which appears in the first interim report of the royal commission and quote what is set forth there. I should like to make it clear that it was during pretty much all of the month of September that the investigation was being made by the police. I was being informed of what was being brought to light, and pretty much the whole case as it has since been developed had at that time been worked out at least in outline by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The matters of which I had knowledge in this indirect way are pretty much the same as are set forth by the Commission from the documents before them. I quote from the first interim report of the Royal Commission:

"As shown by these documents, the specified tasks committed to Colonel Zabolotin were the following:

"(1) As described in telegrams from 'The Director' at Moscow addressed to Colonel Zabolotin under his cover name of 'Grant,' in August 1945.

"(a) The technological processes and methods employed by Canadians and the English for the production of explosives and chemical materials.

"(b) Instructions as to which of the members of the staff of the military attaché should contact particular Canadian agents and the suggestion of names of persons in the Department of National Defense for Naval Affairs who might act as agents.

"(c) Information as to the transfer of the American troops from Europe to the United States and the Pacific also the army headquarters of the 9th army, the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 13 army corps, the 18th armoured division, the 2nd, 4th, 8th, 28th, 30th, 44th, 45th, 104th infantry divisions and the 13th tank division, together with the dates of their moves, the location of the army headquarters of the 8th and 16th armoured corps, the 29th and 89th infantry divisions, the 10th tank division and the location of the Brazilian infantry division. Whether or not there had been organized a staff for the American troops in Germany and, if so, its location and the name of the officer-in-command.

"The location of the 1st parachute troops and the plans for their future use.

"(d) Instructions to take measures to obtain particulars as to the materials of which the atomic bomb is composed, its technological process and drawings.

"(2) As described in writings under the hands of Zabolot, Motinov and Rogov, during the period March to August 1945.

"(a) To obtain from the national research council models of developed radar sets, photographs, technical data, periodic reports, characterizing the radar work carried on by the council and future developments planned by the council.

"(b) Particulars of the explosives establishment at Valcartier and its work, including the obtaining of formulas of explosives and samples.

"(c) A full report on the organization and personnel of the national research council 'Give more details of organization of research council. Manipulate so as to get to their leaders and find out what they do.'

"(d) Particular work of specified employees of the research council.

"(e) The obtaining of documents from the library of the national research council so that they might be photographed, with the expressed intention of ultimately obtaining the whole of the library of the national research council.

"(f) Particulars as to the plant at Chalk river, Ontario, and the processing of uranium.

"(g) The obtaining of a sample of uranium 235, with details as to the plant where it is produced.

"(h) Specifications of the electro-projector of the 'V' bomb.

"(i) Research work being carried on with relation to explosive materials and artillery.

"(j) The obtaining of material on the American aeroplane radar locator type, navigation periscope.

"(k) A list of the army divisions of the Canadian Army which have returned from overseas and the names, or numbers, of the divisions which have been divided, or reshaped, or undergoing reshaping.

"(l) The number of troops in the Canadian Army in the postwar period, together with the system of its organization.

"(m) Information from the Department of Munitions and Supply of various kinds relating to guns, shells, small arms, ammunition for small arms, arsenals, optical and radio appliances, automobiles and tanks, apparatus for chemical warfare, and particulars of plants producing same.

"(n) Information as to electronic shells used by the American Navy.

"(o) To endeavor to keep agents in government departments threatened with discharge as a result of shrinkage in size of the departments, in order to maintain their usefulness for the future.

"(p) Information with regard to depth bombs and double charge shells for cannon.

"(q) Information as to telegrams passing into and out of the Department of External Affairs and the Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom.

"It must not be assumed that the above list is exhaustive, but it illustrates the nature of the objectives of these operations."

The commissioners then make the following statement:

"It has been stated to us by commission counsel that the method of presentation of the evidence before us is with the object of ultimately establishing the identity of the greatest number of those persons who have acted as agents, but the question of the relative importance of the above subject matters has not been dealt with to an extent where we are yet able to pronounce upon it. To proceed in any other manner might have been prejudicial to the ultimate attainment of the purposes of the investigation."

I read that now because of another question which the leader of the opposition asked me this afternoon to answer, namely, how far this espionage system extended.

I should like my honorable friend to notice that commission counsel have attached particular importance to ultimately establishing the identity of the greatest number of those persons who have acted as agents. I shall return to that a little later, as one of the reasons why the commission have thought it desirable that certain persons should be kept incommunicado pending their interrogation and the taking of their evidence. It has been with a view to finding out in the most effective manner possible how far-reaching this particular infiltration has been.

I could not very well leave Canada until the end of the debate on the address. It was the first session of the new Parliament; there had been no division; I had to make perfectly sure that the government was going to remain in office, so that I felt it advisable to wait until after the first division. However, before leaving I did call into my office the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken), the leader of the CCF party (Mr. Coldwell) and the leader of the Social Credit party (Mr. Low) and told them individually one of the reasons why I was leaving at that time. The house will remember that Mr. Attlee had communicated with me somewhat earlier, asking me to come over for purposes of consultation. I had been obliged to reply that I could not leave at least until the session was under way; but this matter coming up in the first month of the session made it important that I should not delay my departure longer.

There was one other reason why I went at that particular time. Part of the information secured by the police was to the effect that a scientist who was quite high in his profession and very much trusted by the British Government; who was a citizen of Britain but was engaged in research work in Canada; who had perhaps as much knowledge as anyone of matters pertaining to the release of atomic energy and researches in that connection, was about to leave Canada; that he had taken passage on a plane and would be arriving at a certain time in London, where he would make contact with the agent of a foreign power. Information of this kind cannot be easily trusted to telegraphic communication. I thought I should give to the British Government as full information as I could with regard to what we had ascertained.

I left for Washington about the end of September. I called upon the President at the White House and had a short talk with him before leaving for New York to catch the ship on which I was crossing to Britain. I arrived in London on a Sunday evening and immediately, on Mr. Attlee's invitation, spent the evening with him at Chequers, where I told him of what had been discovered here. Later I had talks with Mr. Bevin, the foreign secretary, to whom I gave such information as I thought the British Government might wish to have. As honorable members know, I returned later to Washington, in company with Mr. Attlee, where a conference took place with the President in respect of atomic energy, in connection with which a report has already been made. I then came back to Ottawa accompanied by Mr. Attlee and, after Mr. Attlee returned to England, took up anew the question into which I had been looking so anxiously before I went away.

One question that undoubtedly presents itself to the minds of honorable members is why there should have been such a long delay in disclosing this condition of affairs. Why was the Commission not appointed at an earlier date? Well, I think I have indicated enough to show that it would have been a very great and grave mistake to have taken any premature step in regard to the time at which the investigation should take place. The last thing this country would have wished to be responsible for was that in any way it had affected the relations between any of the United Nations in a way that might prove prejudicial to all. Honorable members will recall that there was a meeting in London of the council of foreign ministers at which the British, American and U. S. S. R. foreign ministers were present. That particular meeting did not get very far. After it was over, there were recriminations of one kind and another. I think it would have been most unfortunate had these disclosures taken place while that meeting was being held. There were other meetings which would be held in the near future to consider. It was a question not only of what was the wisest step to take, but also of the best time at which to take it.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you notice, Mr. Chairman, in the part of the excerpt on Alger Hiss, the 1945 security memorandum there on the in-

formation supplied to the security officers in the United States about Alger Hiss' relation? Alger Hiss was then secretary to the then Secretary of State Stettinius—about his involvement in Soviet espionage.

(The excerpt referred to above appears in the previous record at page 71 and is as follows:)

Igor Gouzenko, former code clerk in the office of Col. Nikolai Zabolin, Soviet Military Attaché, Ottawa, Canada, when interviewed by a representative of this Bureau and officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, stated that he had been informed by Lieutenant Kulakov in the office of the Soviet Military Attaché that the Soviets had an agent in the United States in May 1945, who was an assistant to the then Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius.

In further reference to that particular line of inquiry, I would like to offer the following documents for the record.

We have received from the United States Department of State, from Frances G. Knight, Assistant Deputy Administrator, a letter dated November 5, 1953, addressed to me as chief counsel of the subcommittee. It reads:

In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am enclosing herewith for your files and records, a true copy of our communication with the Canadian Government and their reply in connection with your requested interview with Mr. Igor Gouzenko.

I am also enclosing photostats of the newspaper articles reporting Gouzenko's willingness to talk to congressional committee representatives, and today's AP dispatch on the turndown which preceded an official communication to the Department.

This communication from the Department to the Canadian Government, referred to above, was transmitted on October 29, 1953:

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of Canada and has the honor to advise that the Department of State has been informed by Mr. Robert Morris, counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of his desire to interview Mr. Igor Gouzenko in Canada. Mr. Morris has further inquired of the Department of State how such an interview could be arranged. He has been informed that his request would be submitted to the Government of Canada through its Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Morris desires the Department to mention that he has noted the publicly expressed desire of Mr. Gouzenko to talk to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and that the chairman of this committee, Senator William E. Jenner, considers this offer to be valuable.

It would be appreciated if the Department of State might be informed concerning the reply the Canadian Government desired to be made to Mr. Morris on this matter.

The Canadian reply took this form:

The Ambassador of Canada presents his compliments to the Secretary of State and, in reply to his note of October 29 transmitting a request from Mr. Robert Morris, counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to interview Mr. Igor Gouzenko in Canada, has the honor to state as follows:

"1. Apparently Mr. Morris' wish to interview Mr. Gouzenko arises from the fact as stated in your note of October 29 that he has 'noted the publicly expressed desire of Mr. Gouzenko to talk to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.' This presumably refers to a statement attributed to Mr. Gouzenko in an article in the Chicago Tribune that he had some further information.

"2. Before this request had been received from Mr. Morris, Mr. Gouzenko had already been questioned concerning his alleged statement since, if there had been any additional information, it should have been given to the Canadian authorities. Mr. Gouzenko, however, denies that he has any further information beyond what was reported in the Royal Commission's report.

"3. Mr. Gouzenko states that he has been misquoted by the Chicago Tribune and denies both the alleged remarks concerning additional information and the alleged criticism of the handling of the case or the use of the information derived from it.

"4. All information connected with this case which could be of value to the United States Government was promptly transmitted without delay as soon as it was available.

"5. Under these circumstances, it is presumed that the reasons for Mr. Morris' request to interview Mr. Gouzenko have disappeared."

THE CANADIAN EMBASSY.

Washington, D. C., November 5, 1953.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that we have introduced into our record information supplied to this Government that did not appear in the Royal Commission's report.

I would like to submit for the consideration of the subcommittee that the subcommittee may want to take some kind of further action in connection with the state of facts presented.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Mr. Morris, is it not correct that our committee already has evidence that is not contained in the Canadian report?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. With particularity, I might mention—

The CHAIRMAN. And yet the Canadian Government says that report has all the information in it?

Mr. MORRIS. There would seem to be a conflict.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take that up with the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mandel has here quite a few documents taken from the files of Harry Dexter White. They all should be of great interest to this subcommittee in connection with this particular hearing. Rather than take up the time of the subcommittee in submitting these things each individually, I would like to have them inserted into the record at this time. Many of them you will note, however, Mr. Chairman, have been inserted in the record on July 8, 1953. They are here in galley form. In other words, they were put into the record, but because of the delay in printing these records, the Government Printing Office has as yet not published these. May I suggest that they be put into the record at this time, instead of at the place, or possibly, if you wish, in addition to the place, where they originally were intended, back on July 8.

The CHAIRMAN. They certainly have a proper place in this record. So they may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The documents referred to follow:)

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
SERVICE RECORD DIVISION,
Washington 25, D. C., July 1, 1953.

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL SERVICE

Notice to individuals—This record should be preserved—Additional copies of service histories cannot be furnished due to limited personnel in the Commission. This record may be presented to appointing officers for their inspection.

Name: White, Harry D.

Date of birth: October 29, 1892.

Authority for original appointment (Examination from which appointed or other authority—Executive Order, Law, or other exemption): 49 Statute 200, Act of June 16, 1933.

Effective date	Nature of action	Position, grade, salary, etc.
June 20, 1934	Excepted appointment.....	Economic Analyst, \$5,700 per annum, Treasury,
Oct. 4, 1934	Resignation without prejudice.	Office of Secretary, Washington, D. C.
Oct. 5, 1934	Excepted appointment (Tariff Act of 1930, Sec. 331).	Special Expert, Chief Economic Analyst, P-6, \$5,600 per annum, U. S. Tariff Commission, Washington, D. C.
Oct. 31, 1934	Resignation without prejudice.	
Nov. 1, 1934	Excepted appointment (E. O. 6756, 6-28-34).	Principal Economic Analyst, \$5,600 per annum, Treasury, Division of Research and Statistics, Washington, D. C.
Apr. 1, 1936	Promotion.....	Assistant Director, \$6,500 per annum.
July 1, 1937	Promotion.....	Assistant Director, P-7, \$7,500 per annum.
Mar. 25, 1938	Promotion.....	Director, Monetary Research, P-7, \$8,000 per annum.
Jan. 1, 1939	Promotion.....	\$8,500 per annum.
Mar. 1, 1940	Promotion.....	\$9,000 per annum.
Aug. 5, 1941	Additional designation (Sec. 513 of Rev. Act of 1934).	Assistant to the Secretary (Dir. of Monetary Research). No compensation.
Jan. 1, 1942	Classification (Ramspeck Act and E. O. 8743. Rated eligible on Form 375).	Assistant to the Secretary and Director of Monetary Research P-8, \$9,000 per annum, Treasury, Division of Monetary Research, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 23, 1945	Resignation (To accept a presidential appointment as Assistant Secretary).	
Jan. 24, 1945	Presidential appointment (Title 31, Para. 143, U. S. Code).	Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, \$9,000 per annum, Treasury, Office of the Secretary, Washington, D. C.
Apr. 30, 1946	Resignation (In order to take up new duties as U. S. Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund).	

A. M. DEEM,
Chief, Audit Section.

The above transcript of service history does not include all salary changes, intra-agency transfers within an organizational unit not involving changes from one official headquarters or duty station to another, and promotions or demotions, since Federal agencies are not required to report all such actions to the Commission.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
TELEGRAPH OFFICE,
Appleton, Wis., June 9, 1934.

Dr. JACOB VINER,
Office of the Secretary, Treasury Department:

Will be very glad to come and work with you.

H. D. WHITE.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTER OFFICE COMMUNICATION

MARCH 25, 1938.

To: Mr. Harper.
From: Mr. Thompson.

Will you please have a letter prepared for the signature of the Secretary appointing Harry D. White as Director of Monetary Research at a base salary of \$8,000 per annum, payable from the appropriation, Exchange Stabilization Fund, effective as of March 25, 1938.

The position of Director of Monetary Research was established by Treasury Department Order No. 18, approved by the Secretary March 25, 1938.

JULY 1, 1935.

Mr. HARRY D. WHITE,

Prin. Economic Analyst at \$5,600 per annum, EBGSR, Division of Research & Statistics.

SIR: By direction of the Secretary, your appointment for emergency work has been continued without change in designation or salary, effective July 1, 1935, for such period of time as your services may be required on such work and funds are available therefor, but not to extend beyond June 30, 1936.

Respectfully,

(Signed) J. E. HARPER,
Chief, Division of Appointments.

Secy's List, 6-29-35.

JULY 1, 1937.

Mr. HARRY D. WHITE,

Assistant Director at \$6,500 per annum, EBGSR, Division of Research and Statistics.

SIR: You are hereby transferred, promoted, and appointed, effective July 1, 1937, an Assistant Director, P-7, in the Division of Research and Statistics, with compensation at the rate of seventy-five hundred dollars per annum, payable from the appropriation, "Exchange Stabilization Fund."

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury.

OCTOBER 1, 1936.

Mr. HARRY D. WHITE,

*Principal Economic Analyst at \$5,600 per annum, EBGSR,
Division of Research and Statistics.*

SIR: You are hereby promoted and appointed for emergency work, effective October 1, 1936, an Assistant Director, EO 17, in the Division of Research and Statistics, with compensation at the rate of sixty-five hundred dollars per annum, payable from the appropriation, "Expenses, Emergency Banking, Gold Reserve, and Silver Purchase Acts, 1937," for the duration of the work, but not to extend beyond June 30, 1937.

By direction of the Secretary:

Very truly yours,

(Signed) WM. H. McREYNOLDS,
Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

Oath:

U.S. Form No. 1
Obsoleted by U.S. Form No. 1, May 22, 1938

OATH OF OFFICE

Prescribed by Section 1557, Revised Statutes of the United States

Department of _____

(Branch or Office)

I, _____ do
solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God.

Harry D. White

Director of Monetary Research

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of _____ A.D. 1938

(City or place)

(State)

[SEAL]

H. Morgenthau, Jr.

Secretary of the Treasury

Note: If the oath is taken before a Notary Public, the date of expiration of his commission should be shown.

Position to which appointed _____

Date of entrance on duty _____

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1938

DECEMBER 28, 1938.

Mr. HARRY D. WHITE,
Director of Monetary Research, Treasury Department.

SIR: Your compensation as Director of Monetary Research is hereby increased from \$8,000 to \$8,500 per annum, payable from the Exchange Stabilization Fund, effective January 1, 1939.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury.

MARCH 25, 1938.

Mr. HARRY D. WHITE,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: You are hereby appointed effective March 25, 1938, Director of Monetary Research in the office of the Secretary, with compensation at the rate of \$8,000 per annum, payable from the appropriation, "Exchange, Stabilization Fund."

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Oath: This is to be carried as a transfer; oath was not taken.

MARCH 1, 1940.

Mr. HARRY D. WHITE,
Director of Monetary Research,
Treasury Department.

SIR: Your compensation as Director of Monetary Research is hereby increased from \$8,500 to \$9,000 per annum, payable from the Exchange Stabilization Fund, effective as of this date.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury.

AUGUST 5, 1941.

Mr. HARRY D. WHITE,
Director of Monetary Research,
Treasury Department.

SIR: Under the provisions of section 513 of the Revenue Act of 1934 you are hereby appointed an Assistant to the Secretary with compensation at the rate of \$9,000 per annum, payable from the appropriation "Exchange Stabilization Fund," effective August 5, 1941.

You will continue as Director of Monetary Research in charge of the Division of Monetary Research and in addition will perform such other duties as may be assigned to you from time to time.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury.

AUGUST 14, 1941.

Mr. HARRY D. WHITE,
Assistant to the Secretary,
Treasury Department.

SIR: By letter of August 6 to Hon. Henry C. [sic] Wallace, chairman of the Economic Defense Board, I informed him of my intention to designate you as my alternate on the Economic Defense Board, subject to his continuing approval, as provided in Executive Order No. 8839 of July 30, 1941, establishing the Board.

Such approval having been given, I now hereby designate you to represent the Treasury Department as my alternate on the Board. A copy of Executive Order No. 8839, setting forth the purposes and functions of the Board is attached for your information.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury.

[From the Federal Register, Vol. 6, No. 149, August 1, 1941, pp. 3823-3824]

The President

EXECUTIVE ORDER

ESTABLISHING THE ECONOMIC DEFENSE BOARD

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, by virtue of the existence of an unlimited national emergency, and for the purpose of developing and coordinating policies, plans, and programs designed to protect and strengthen the international economic relations of the United States in the interest of national defense, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The term "economic defense," whenever used in this Order, means the conduct, in the interest of national defense, of international economic activities including those relating to exports, imports, the acquisition and disposition of materials and commodities from foreign countries including preclusive buying, transactions in foreign exchange and foreign-owned or foreign-controlled property, international investments and extensions of credit, shipping and transportation of goods among countries, the international aspects of patents, international communications pertaining to commerce, and other foreign economic matters.

2. There is hereby established an Economic Defense Board (hereinafter referred to as the "Board"). The Board shall consist of the Vice President of the United States who shall serve as Chairman, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce. The Chairman may, with the approval of the President, appoint additional members to the Board. Each member of the Board, other than the Chairman, may designate an alternate from among the officials of his Department, subject to the continuing approval of the Chairman, and such alternate may act for such member in all matters relating to the Board.

3. In furtherance of such policies and objectives as the President may from time to time determine, the Board shall perform the following functions and duties:

a. Advise the President as to economic defense measures to be taken or functions to be performed which are essential to the effective defense of the Nation.

b. Coordinate the policies and actions of the several departments and agencies carrying on activities relating to economic defense in order to assure unity and balance in the application of such measures.

c. Develop integrated economic defense plans and programs for coordinated action by the departments and agencies concerned and use all appropriate means to assure that such plans and programs are carried into effect by such departments and agencies.

d. Make investigations and advise the President on the relationship of economic defense (as defined in paragraph 1) measures to postwar economic reconstruction and on the steps to be taken to protect the trade position of the United States and to expedite the establishment of sound, peacetime international economic relationships.

e. Review proposed or existing legislation relating to or affecting economic defense and, with the approval of the President, recommend such additional legislation as may be necessary or desirable.

4. The administration of the various activities relating to economic defense shall remain with the several departments and agencies now charged with such duties but such administration shall conform to the policies formulated or approved by the Board.

5. In the study of problems and in the formulation of programs, it shall be the policy of the Board to collaborate with existing departments and agencies which perform functions and activities pertaining to economic defense and to utilize their services and facilities to the maximum. Such departments and agencies shall cooperate with the Board in clearing proposed policies and measures involving economic defense considerations and shall supply such information and data as the Board may require in performing its functions. The Board may arrange for the establishment of committees or groups of advisers, representing two or more departments and agencies as the case may require, to study and develop economic defense plans and programs in respect to particular commodities or services, geographical areas, types of measures that might be exercised, and other related matters.

6. To facilitate unity of action and the maximum use of existing services and facilities, each of the following departments and agencies, in addition to the departments and agencies represented on the Board, shall designate a responsible officer or officers, subject to the approval of the Chairman, to represent the department or agency in its continuing relationships with the Board: The Departments of the Post Office, the Interior, and Labor, the Federal Loan Agency, the United States Maritime Commission, the United States Tariff Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the National Resources Planning Board, the Defense Communications Board, the Office of Production Management, the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics, the Permanent Joint Board on Defense, the Administrator of Export Control, the Division of

Defense Aid Reports, the Coordinator of Information, and such additional departments and agencies as the Chairman may from time to time determine. The Chairman shall provide for the systematic conduct of business with the foregoing departments and agencies

7. The Chairman is authorized to make all necessary arrangements, with the advice and assistance of the Board, for discharging and performing the responsibilities and duties required to carry out the functions and authorities set forth in this Order, and to make final decisions when necessary to expedite the work of the Board. He is further authorized, within the limits of such funds as may be allocated to the Board by the President, to employ necessary personnel and make provision for the necessary supplies, facilities, and services. The Chairman may, with the approval of the President, appoint an executive officer.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
July 30, 1941.

[No. 8839]

[F. R. Doc. 41-5597: Filed, July 31, 1941; 11:20 a. m.]

AUGUST 6, 1941.

HON. HENRY C. [sic] WALLACE,
Chairman, Economic Defense Board,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I propose, subject to your continuing approval, as provided in the Executive order establishing the Economic Defense Board, to designate Mr. Harry D. White, assistant to the Secretary, as my alternate on the Board.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 30, 1941.

MR. HARRY D. WHITE,
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury,
Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. WHITE: It is a pleasure to inform you that the Government of Cuba has indicated to the Department its satisfaction with the naming of yourself and Messrs. Eddy and Spiegel, of the Treasury, and Messrs. Walter R. Gardner and George B. Vest, of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, as a technical mission in compliance with its request for assistance in connection with monetary and banking questions. Your assignment to this mission is consequently effected in accordance with the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury of September 25, 1941.

You will act as chief of the mission and direct the work of its other members.

The Cuban Government has been informed that the mission will arrive in Habana during the first week in October. Upon your arrival there you should report to the Honorable George S. Messersmith, Ambassador of the United States to Cuba, who will introduce you to the appropriate Cuban officials. The mission will be responsible to Ambassador Messersmith, and you should obtain his approval of any informal recommendations involving questions of policy which the mission may propose to make to the Cuban officials. Formal recommendations should be prepared for transmittal to the Cuban Government through the Department of State.

I wish you a pleasant journey and every success in the mission.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER WELLS,
Under Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

OCTOBER 12, 1942.

THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Transmitted herewith is recommendation for the classification of Harry D. White, under the Ramspeck Act and section 1 of Executive Order No.

8743, as an assistant to the Secretary and Director of Monetary Research, P-8, at \$9,000 per annum, in the Division of Monetary Research.

Classification is to be effective January 1, 1942.

Very truly yours,

T. F. WILSON,
Director of Personnel.
By A. McLANE.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTEROFFICE COMMUNICATION

FEBRUARY 25, 1943.

To: Dr. Harry White.

From: Secretary Morgenthau.

Effective this date, I would like you to take supervision over and assume full responsibility for Treasury's participation in all economic and financial matters (except matters pertaining to depository facilities, transfers of funds, and war expenditures) in connection with the operations of the Army and Navy and the civilian affairs in the foreign areas in which our Armed Forces are operating or are likely to operate. This will, of course, include general liaison with the State Department, Army and Navy, and other departments or agencies, and representatives of foreign governments on these matters.

In the above connection, you will, of course, keep Under Secretary Bell advised with respect to all matters affecting gold, coins, coinage, currency, or rates of exchange. You will also consult with Mr. Paul or Mr. Luxford and Mr. Pehle in all matters which come within the jurisdiction of the Foreign Funds Control.

O. K., H. M., Jr. [written notation].

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION, PAGE 16604

JANUARY 27, 1943.

To Director of Personnel:

Name: White, Harry D.

From: Division of Monetary Research

Nature of Recommendation: Classification under Ramspeck Act and E. O. 8743.

Effective: January 1, 1942.

Position: Asst. to the Secy. and Dir. of Monetary Research

Grade: P-8

Salary: \$9,000 per annum

Bureau or Div.: Div. of Monetary Research

Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

Post of Duty: Washington, D. C.

Appropriation Allotment: Exchange Stabilization Fund

Field (☐) Deprtmntl. (☒)

Civil Service or other legal authority: C. S. C. File No. 3-3, dated Jan. 23, 1943.

Appropriation: ESFR.

Date of birth: 10-29-1892.

Legal residence: *Maryland.

Sex: M.

Subject to Retirement Act? Yes.

Remarks: *Legal residence changed from Wisconsin to Maryland.

DAVID WHITE,
(Bureau or Division Head).

JUNE 17, 1943.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: This is in reply to your letter of June 11, 1943, asking that I designate a representative from this Department to serve as a member of the Interdepartmental Committee for Economic Policy in Liberated Areas.

I am designating Mr. Harry D. White to serve as Treasury representative on that committee.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.

MAY 31, 1943.

HON. REID F. MURRAY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MURRAY: This is in reply to your letter of May 13, 1943, addressed to Mr. Theodore F. Wilson, Director of Personnel, in which you request a complete personnel record of Mr. Harry D. White, Assistant to the Secretary.

Mr. White attended Stanford University and received the degrees of bachelor of arts and master of arts from that institution. He also received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Harvard University.

Prior to entering the Federal service, Mr. White served 6 years as an instructor in economics at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., and 2 years as professor of economics at Lawrence College in Wisconsin.

Mr. White was appointed an economic analyst in the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, effective June 20, 1934. He resigned from this position on October 4, 1934, and from that date until November 4, 1934, was employed by the Tariff Commission. On November 5, 1934, Mr. White was appointed principal economic analyst in the Division of Research and Statistics, Treasury Department. He was promoted to Assistant Director of Research and Statistics, effective October 6, 1936, and held that position until March 25, 1938, when he became Director of Monetary Research. On August 30, 1941, Mr. White was given the additional title and duties of an Assistant to the Secretary.

Mr. White's present duties include responsibility for the work of the Division of Monetary Research, for the management and operation of the Stabilization Fund, and for all matters with which the Treasury Department has to deal having a bearing on foreign relations. He also serves as alternate for the Secretary and Treasury representative with various intergovernmental and interdepartmental boards and committees.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) W. N. THOMPSON,
Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

JULY 17, 1944.

MY DEAR MRS. BOLTON: With further reference to your letter of July 5, 1944, I am pleased to furnish information for the Foreign Affairs Committee concerning the qualifications of Mr. Harry D. White, Assistant to the Secretary and Director of the Division of Monetary Research.

Mr. White attended Stanford University and received the degrees of bachelor of arts and master of arts from that institution. He also received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Harvard University.

Prior to entering the Federal service, Mr. White served 6 years as an instructor in economics at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., and 2 years as professor of Economics at Lawrence College in Wisconsin.

Mr. White was appointed an economic analyst in the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, effective June 20, 1934. He resigned from this position on October 4, 1934, and from that date until November 4, 1934, was employed by the Tariff Commission. On November 5, 1934, Mr. White was appointed principal economic analyst in the Division of Research and Statistics, Treasury Department. He was promoted to Assistant Director of Research and Statistics, effective October 6, 1936, and held that position until March 25, 1938, when he became Director of Monetary Research. On August 30, 1941, Mr. White was given the additional title and duties of an Assistant to the Secretary.

Mr. White's present duties include responsibility for the work of the Division of Monetary Research, for the management and operation of the Stabilization Fund, and for all matters with which the Treasury Department has to deal having a bearing on foreign relations. He also serves as alternate for the Secretary and Treasury representative with various intergovernmental and interdepartmental boards and committees.

[Written notation:] Mr. Bell cleared with the Sec'y, 7/16/44.

Mr. White has represented the Treasury Department on the following bodies:
 The Interdepartmental Lend-Lease Committee
 The Canadian-American Joint Economic Committee
 The Executive Committee on Commercial Policy
 The Executive Committee and Board of Trustees of the Export-Import Bank
 The Interdepartmental Committee on Inter-American Affairs
 The National Resources Committee

The Price Administration Committee
 The Committee on Foreign Commerce Regulations
 The Interdepartmental Committee on Post-War Economic Problems
 The Committee on Trade Agreements
 The National Munitions Control Board
 The Acheson Committee on International Relief.
 The Board of Economic Warfare
 The Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy
 The Liberated Areas Committee
 The O. S. S. Advisory Committee.
 The U. S. Commercial Corporation
 The Interdepartmental Committee on Planning for Coordinating the Economic Activities of U. S. Civilian Agencies in Liberated Areas

Mr. White's publications include the following: French International Accounts, Harvard University Press; Some Aspects of the Tariff Question, Third Edition by F. W. Taussig, with the cooperation of Mr. H. D. White.

I trust that this information may be of assistance to you and the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) CHARLES S. BELL,
Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
 -----, 194----

To the Senate of the United States:

I nominate Harry D. White, of Maryland, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in place of the Honorable John L. Sullivan, whose resignation is effective November 30, 1944.

THE PRESIDENT,

The White House.

NOVEMBER 28, 1944.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to recommend the appointment of Mr. Harry D. White of Maryland, as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in place of the Honorable John L. Sullivan, whose resignation is effective November 30, 1944.

Mr. White has been serving with the Treasury Department since November 5, 1934, and at the present time he is Assistant to the Secretary and Director of Monetary Research.

I am transmitting herewith a nomination in the event you approve Mr. White's appointment.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.

November 28, 1944, 4:30 p. m.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
 Washington, December 1, 1944.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT ORDER NO. 56

Effective immediately, the Director of Foreign Funds Control will report to Mr. Harry D. White, Assistant to the Secretary.

Treasury Department Order No. 52, dated April 15, 1944, is modified accordingly.

(Signed) D. W. BELL,
Acting Secretary of the Treasury.

See Subject File—Secretary Orders and Circulars.

JANUARY 26, 1945.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT ORDER NO. 58

Effective from and after this date the Division of Monetary Research and Foreign Funds Control will continue under the supervision of Mr. Harry D. White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

Treasury Department Order No. 52, dated April 15, 1944, is superseded, and Order No. 56, dated December 1, 1944, is modified by this order.

(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.
Secretary of the Treasury.

See Subject File—Secretary's Orders in Mr. Percy Burdette's office.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

RESIGNATION

JANUARY 22, 1945.

To the honorable the SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

SIR: I hereby tender my resignation from the position of Assistant to the Secretary and Director of Monetary Research at a salary of \$9,000 per annum in the Treasury Department to take effect January 23, 1945.

Reasons: To accept a presidential appointment as Assistant Secretary.

Respectfully,

(Signed) HARRY D. WHITE.

Standard Form No. 8
(Prescribed by the President, May 20, 1932)

OATH OF OFFICE

Prescribed by Section 1757, Revised Statutes of the United States

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
(Department or Establishment)

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
(Bureau or Office)

I, HARRY D. WHITE, do

(Name in full, printed or typed)

solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. SO HELP ME GOD.

Harry D. White
(Signature of Applicant)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22nd day of January, A.D. 1945

at Washington
(City or Place)

D. C.
(District)

BEAT

Samuel B. [illegible]
Notary Public

NOTE.—If the oath is taken before a Notary Public the date of expiration of his commission should be shown.

Jan 15 / 45

Position to which appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury \$9,000

Date of entrance on duty _____

APRIL 30, 1946.

HON. HARRY D. WHITE,
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WHITE: I accept with regret your resignation as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

My regret is lessened, however, in the knowledge that you leave the Treasury only to assume new duties for the Government in the field of international economics as the United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund. In that position you will be able to carry forward the work you so ably began at Bretton Woods and you will have increased opportunity for the exercise of your wide knowledge and expertness in a field which is of utmost importance to world peace and security.

I am confident that in your new position you will add distinction to your already distinguished career with the Treasury.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE FEBRUARY 6, 1946

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION
 AND DEVELOPMENT

Harry D. White to be United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund for a term of 2 years and until his successor has been appointed. (Copied from the Congressional Record, February 6, 1946.)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 30, 1946.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On the 6th of May the International Monetary Fund begins its work. I therefore tender my resignation as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, effective May 1.

I leave the Treasury Department, in which I have served these last 12 years, with real regret, but look forward to my new duties as the United States Executive Director of the Fund, for I believe the Fund has a real opportunity to help the world achieve monetary stability and sustained prosperity.

I shall do my best to carry out the policies of international economic cooperation which you have fostered.

Faithfully,

HARRY D. WHITE,
Assistant Secretary.

MR. MORRIS Mr. Chairman, in the event that all of the documents that I have described have not been received by you into the record, will you receive all of those documents which I have offered for the record during the course of these hearings? Will you order them into the record at this time?

THE CHAIRMAN. I will order them into the record. They may become a part of the record.

If there are no further witnesses—

SENATOR HENDRICKSON. Mr. Chairman, in order that this record may be crystal clear, I hope the subcommittee will give some thought to the possibility of inviting the former President of the United States to appear before this subcommittee.

THE CHAIRMAN. Of course, I cannot speak for the committee, Senator Hendrickson. You know how our committee operates. We have tried to proceed in a very careful manner. Our main interest has been to build up a record on truth and facts and evidence. It is apparent to me from the record made here today that there is no

question about it that this derogatory information concerning Harry Dexter White has been communicated to the President of the United States. I cannot speak for the committee. I can only speak as an individual. I see no reason for calling the former President, Harry Truman, before this committee, because the record speaks for itself.

Senator HENDRICKSON. I was not suggesting calling him. I was suggesting inviting him to appear.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see any reason to invite him at this time. The record has been made. You have heard here today General Vaughan testify that he would not deny that, if the records had come from the Attorney General's office to his office, he had delivered them to the President of the United States. If he did not deliver them that day, he said he would have delivered them the next morning.

You have also heard Mr. Caudle testify that he knew of the existence of this record.

Mr. Brownell has made his statements about this record. Therefore, I think it is very evident and there is no doubt, it is very apparent to me from the evidence heard by our committee and placed in the record today, that this information on Harry Dexter White was delivered to the President of the United States. Our committee is concerned, as it has been in the past several months, with subversion, the working into the Government of these Communists, not only Harry Dexter White. He is only one of them. We have named nine here today.

I can take it up with the committee as to what they want to do, but as an individual I see no reason for calling Harry Truman before this committee, because the record speaks for itself.

Senator HENDRICKSON. I am sure the Chair will give the committee a chance to speak on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. We will call a committee meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, there is one thing you will note in the record, that we have covered the testimony of Mr. Caudle, the testimony of General Vaughan, a statement from Mr. Byrnes, and a statement from Mr. Brownell. We have been promised a further statement from Mr. Brownell which will be put into the record in some form, in the form of a personal appearance of somebody or in the form of a formally transmitted statement.

The CHAIRMAN. There are no further witnesses, and the committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:45 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)



INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2:30 p. m., pursuant to call, in Room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner (presiding), Butler (Maryland), Johnston, and McClellan.

Present also: Senators Wiley, Knowland, Williams, and Dirksen.

Present also: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, committee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Robert McManus, professional staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. May we have order, please.

I am happy that so many of the members of this committee could be present today.

Let me state at the outset that the Internal Security Subcommittee has been holding hearings during the last 3 years on subversion in the United States Government and among United States citizens in international agencies. Since April of this past year, the subcommittee has been concentrating on the inquiry into the interlocking subversion in Government departments, and has heard more than 30 witnesses whom the evidence amply shows to have been actively engaged in the Communist underground, and many even in Soviet espionage. These people held high positions in Government. They were closely and intimately associated with each other.

The details of their conspiracy have been spread over the record of this and other committees. It was not a question of one man or even of isolated cases, but rather was a constant and monstrous conspiracy that had a great effect in changing the course of history.

The subcommittee sought to determine precisely what aspect of the loyalty machinery allowed so many Soviet agents to remain in high positions of influence in the United States in the face of impressive derogatory security information.

We unanimously concluded in our interim report of July 30, 1953, that, and I quote from that report:

There is ample evidence that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other agencies learned the underlying fact of the Communist conspiracy, and time and again performed their duty and notified the proper administrative agencies of this information.

The FBI had three sources in 1945 that showed that Alger Hiss was an undercover Communist, and yet Hiss stayed on all through 1946 in a position where he had access to almost every top level military, political, and economic secret of our Government.

The FBI had evidence that many other Government employees were active in the Soviet underground, including Harold Glasser, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Edward J. Fitzgerald, Harry Magdoff, and others. These people stayed in their jobs receiving promotions and influenced policy for several years after impressive information had been marshalled, we concluded.

Since its report, the subcommittee has been working with particularity on the cases of nine individuals. They are Alger Hiss, Harold Glasser, Victor Perlo, Frank Coe, Maurice Halperin, Edward Fitzgerald, Harry Magdoff, Irving Kaplan, and Harry Dexter White.

Hearings were held last week wherein certain witnesses were asked what they knew about the distribution of FBI security memoranda on Harry Dexter White.

Today the first witness will be Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

Mr. Brownell, will you stand and be sworn to testify? Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be seated, Mr. Brownell. Will you state your full name for our committee record?

TESTIMONY OF HON. HERBERT BROWNELL, JR., ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, ACCOMPANIED BY DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM P. ROGERS AND ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL WARREN OLNEY III

Attorney General BROWNELL. Herbert Brownell, Jr.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside, Mr. Brownell?

Attorney General BROWNELL. 4355 Forest Lane, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is your profession or position at this time in Government?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, you may proceed with the questioning of the witness. May I ask first, Mr. Brownell, do you have a prepared statement that you want to make?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I do, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there copies of this statement that you propose to read for distribution to the committee?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you proceed with your prepared statement.

Attorney General BROWNELL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the subcommittee, this subcommittee has been holding a series of hearings for the purpose of exposing the plans of Communist agents to infiltrate the Government of the United States. The work of this subcommittee has documented with great care the result of the very successful Communist espionage penetration in our Government during World War II and thereafter. Later on I will have certain recommendations for legislation which I would like to submit for the consideration of the subcommittee. I feel confident that as a result of the work of this subcommittee, much constructive legislation will result.

The executive department of the Government which is headed by the President, and of which the Department of Justice is part, has been concerned since we took office with cleaning out the Government. One of the most important and vital problems is to remove all persons of doubtful loyalty and, most important, to prevent any further Communist infiltration into the Government of the United States.

On November 6 in Chicago, I made a speech which was one of a number of speeches and magazine articles in which I publicly discussed the problem of Communist infiltration in Government and the steps taken by the Eisenhower administration to meet that problem. In that speech I referred to the case of Harry Dexter White and the manner in which it was treated by the prior administration to illustrate how successful espionage agents had been in penetrating our Government at that time and how lax our Government was at that time in meeting such a grave problem. This afternoon I want to discuss the case of Harry Dexter White and the manner in which it was handled by the Truman administration on the basis of established facts and the records in the Department of Justice.

Before I do that, however, I want to make certain preliminary remarks. An inference has been drawn in some quarters from my speech which I think is unwarranted. By lifting certain sentences out of context it has been said that I implied the possibility that the former President of the United States was disloyal. I intended no such inference to be drawn. In order to point out that I intended no such inference to be drawn, I specifically said that I believed that the disregard of the evidence in the White case was—

because of the unwillingness of the non-Communists in responsible positions to face the facts and a persistent delusion that communism in the Government of the United States was only a red herring.

In another part of the speech I also stated:

The manner in which the established facts concerning White's disloyalty were disregarded is typical of the blindness which inflicted the former administration on this matter.

When I assumed the office of Attorney General, I promised to expose evidence of Communist infiltration in our Government and to expose corruption, with evenhanded justice. I intend to continue to do so. Some people won't like it, but I shall not be deterred from carrying out my duty by personal abuse.

When this subcommittee completes its investigation, I believe that you will conclude, as I did, that there was an unwillingness on the part of Mr. Truman and others around him to face the facts and a

persistent delusion that Communist espionage in high places in our Government was a red herring. And I believe you will conclude that this attitude, this delusion, may have resulted in great harm to our Nation.

The White case seemed to me to be of such vital importance that I believed the public was entitled to know what safeguards were taken—once our Government was alerted to the two spy rings operating within our own Government—to protect the national security.

Of course, if the basic facts of these two spy rings had not been well established by previous court procedures and by congressional committees, I would not have proceeded as I did. I fully realize the grave responsibility which I have as chief law-enforcement officer of this Nation not to use confidential reports in my possession to disclose charges against individuals except through established court procedures. Those of us in the Department of Justice will never violate that basic concept of our American jurisprudence.

But the White case, of course, is not that situation. The basic facts of the two spy rings which existed in the Government at that time have been fully exposed in court and before congressional committees. This subcommittee recently published a very excellent report documenting those facts. The only disclosure which I made from our records, and I believe it is the type of thing that the public is entitled to know about, is that the Truman administration was put on notice at least as early as December 1945, that there were two spy rings operating within our Government. And, as I see it, now that this fact has been established, I believe the public is entitled to know what safeguards the Truman administration established to protect the national security.

In considering the facts in this case it is well to keep in mind that the matter to be decided in January and February of 1946 did not relate to criminal proceedings in court. It was not a question whether White could at that time have been formally charged before a grand jury with espionage. The matter to be determined by Mr. Truman and his associates was whether Harry Dexter White should be advanced to a post of high honor, great trust, and responsibility and of vital importance to the security of our country. If there was solid evidence at that time establishing that White was engaged in espionage activity, certainly no one would contend that sound and proper administration required his advancement or even continuance in Government service simply because a criminal conviction could not be obtained.

White entered upon his duties and assumed the office of Executive Director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund on May 1, 1946. What was known at the White House of his espionage activities prior to that date?

On December 4, 1945, the FBI transmitted to Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, military aide to the President, a report on the general subject of Soviet espionage in the United States. I referred to this in my speech at the first report. This was a secret and highly important report of some 71 pages. It covered the entire subject of Soviet espionage in this country both before, during, and after World War II. It named many names and described numerous Soviet espionage organizations. Harry Dexter White and the espionage ring of which he was a part were among those referred to in this report. The index

list refers to his activities in three different places. This report, as might be expected from its general character, summarizes White's espionage activities in abbreviated form, but no reasonable person can deny that that summary, brief though it may be, constituted adequate warning to anyone who read it of the extreme danger to the security of the country in appointing White to the International Monetary Fund or continuing him in Government in any capacity.

As the subcommittee knows, copies of this report were sent to a number of Cabinet officers and high officials in the Truman administration including the Attorney General. It would be difficult to understand how under any circumstances a document upon so delicate and dangerous a subject would not have been brought to Mr. Truman's attention by at least one of his associates.

But in addition to that fact, I have here a letter from J. Edgar Hoover to General Vaughan a month before that, dated November 8, 1945.

As you know, General Vaughan has testified before this subcommittee that by arrangement with Mr. Truman, when the FBI had information which it deemed important for the President to know about, it sent such information to him—to Vaughan. Vaughan testified that he knew that any such report which came to him was delivered to the President.

The letter I hold in my hand is marked "Top Secret." I have declassified it and will make it public because it does not reveal any security information which would now be damaging. Because it was classified "Top Secret," it would have received very special handling that all such documents must receive. If this letter did not come to Mr. Truman's attention, then it would be a most serious dereliction of duty on the part of those who handled it.

It is a document of historical importance and I therefore, with your permission, will quote it in full:

NOVEMBER 8, 1945.

(Top secret by special messenger)

Declassified H. B. November 16, 1953.

Brig. Gen. HARRY HAWKINS VAUGHAN,
*Military Aide to the President,
The White House, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR GENERAL VAUGHAN: As a result of the Bureau's investigative operations, information has been recently developed from a highly confidential source indicating that a number of persons employed by the Government of the United States have been furnishing data and information to persons outside the Federal Government, who are in turn transmitting this information to espionage agents of the Soviet Government. At the present time it is impossible to determine exactly how many of these people had actual knowledge of the disposition being made of the information they were transmitting. The investigation, however, at this point has indicated that the persons named hereinafter were actually the source from which information passing through the Soviet espionage system was being obtained, and I am continuing vigorous investigation for the purpose of establishing the degree and nature of the complicity of these people in this espionage ring.

The Bureau's information at this time indicates that the following persons were participants in this operation or were utilized by principals in this ring for the purpose of obtaining data in which the Soviet is interested:

Dr. Gregory Silvermaster, a longtime employee of the Department of Agriculture.
Harry Dexter White, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury.

George Silverman, formerly employed by the Railroad Retirement Board, and now reportedly in the War Department.

Lauchlin Currie, former Administrative Assistant to the late President Roosevelt.
Victor Perlo, formerly with the War Production Board and the Foreign Economic Administration.

Donald Wheeler, formerly with the Office of Strategic Services.

Maj. Duncan Lee, Office of Strategic Services.

Julius Joseph, Office of Strategic Services.

Helen Tenney, Office of Strategic Services.

Maurice Halperin, Office of Strategic Services.

Charles Kramer, formerly associated with Senator Kilgore.

Capt. William Ludwig Ullman, United States Army Air Corps.

Lt. Col. John H. Reynolds, of the United States Army, a former contact of Gaik Ovakinian, former head of the Soviet Secret Intelligence (NKVD) in New York, is also apparently involved in the Soviet espionage activities stemming from Washington, D. C.

In addition to the foregoing group in the Government, it appears at this time that Mary Price, formerly secretary to Walter Lippmann, the newspaper columnist, and presently publicity manager of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, is also associated with the foregoing group.

The Government documents were furnished to Gregory Silvermaster, who thereafter photographed them and turned over the undeveloped, but exposed, film to a contact of the Soviets in either Washington, D. C., or New York City. In the past, it is reported, the contact man made trips to Washington, D. C., once every 2 weeks and would pick up on such occasions an average of 40 rolls of 35-millimeter film.

Investigation of this matter is being pushed vigorously, but I thought that the President and you would be interested in having the foregoing preliminary data immediately.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. EDGAR HOOVER.

It would be difficult to believe under any circumstances that so important a document upon so delicate and dangerous a subject would not have been brought to Mr. Truman's attention by at least one of his associates.

It is a blunt fact from which there is no escape that, in the teeth of the November 8 warning from the FBI, the developing evidence indicated a substantial spy ring operating within the Government, and involving Harry Dexter White and the documented report delivered to the White House on December 4, some 6 weeks later President Truman, on January 23, 1946, publicly announced his nomination of Harry Dexter White for appointment to the International Monetary Fund. I just do not understand this. It still seems completely incredible to me.

But the matter does not end there. Because of this development the FBI compiled a special report devoted exclusively to Harry Dexter White and his espionage activities and delivered it, together with a covering letter, by special messenger on February 4, 1946, to General Vaughan for the attention of the President, to the Attorney General, Tom Clark, and to Secretary of State James Byrnes. This is the second report mentioned in my speech.

Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, who received a duplicate report and covering letter on the same day, wrote the President on February 5, 1946 as follows:

The enclosed letter addressed to Mr. Frederick Lyon of this Department by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, and the enclosures referring to Harry Dexter White, I deem of such importance that I think you should read them.

I will now read into the record the FBI letter, now officially declassified, transmitting the White report:

FEBRUARY 1, 1946.

(Personal and confidential by special messenger)

Brig. Gen. HARRY HAWKINS VAUGHAN,
*Military Aide to the President,
The White House, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR GENERAL VAUGHAN: As of interest to the President and you, I am attaching a detailed memorandum hereto concerning Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury Department.

As you are aware, the name of Harry Dexter White has been sent to Congress by the President for confirmation of his appointment as 1 of the 2 United States delegates on the International Monetary Fund under the Bretton Woods agreement. In view of this fact, the interest expressed by the President and you in matters of this nature, and the seriousness of the charges against White in the attachment, I have made every effort in preparing this memorandum to cover all possible ramifications. As will be observed, information has come to the attention of this Bureau charging White as being a valuable adjunct to an underground Soviet espionage organization operating in Washington, D. C. Material which came into his possession as a result of his official capacity allegedly was made available through intermediaries to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, his wife, Helen Witte Silvermaster, and William Ludwig Ullmann. Both Silvermaster and Ullmann are employees of the United States Treasury Department, reportedly directly under the supervision of White.

The information and documents originating in the Treasury Department were either passed on in substance or photographed by Ullmann in a well-equipped laboratory in the basement of the Silvermaster home. Following this step, the material was taken to New York City by courier and made available to Jacob M. Golos, until the time of his death on November 27, 1943. Golos, a known Soviet agent, delivered this material to an individual tentatively identified as Gaik Ovakimian. Ovakimian, you will recall, was arrested some years ago as an unregistered agent of the Soviet Government and subsequently, by special arrangements with the Department of State, was permitted to return to the U. S. S. R.

After the departure of Gaik Ovakimian, Golos delivered his material to an individual who has been tentatively identified—

here a name is deleted for security purposes.

Subsequent to the death of Golos, the courier handling material received from the Silvermasters and Ullman delivered it through an unidentified individual to Anatole Borisovich Gromov who until December 7, 1945, was assigned as First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C., when he returned to the U. S. S. R. Gromov had previously been under suspicion as the successor to Vassili Zubilin, reported head of the NKVD in North America, who returned to Moscow in the late summer of 1944. This whole network has been under intensive investigation since November 1945, and it is the results of these efforts that I am now able to make available to you.

I also feel that it is incumbent upon me at this time to bring to your attention an additional factor which has originated with sources available to this Bureau in Canada. It is reported that the British and Canadian delegates to the International Monetary Fund may possibly nominate and support White for the post of president of the International Bank, or as executive director of the International Monetary Fund. The conclusion is expressed that assuming this backing is forthcoming and the United States acquiescence, if not concurrence, resulting, White's nomination to this highly important post would be assured. It is further commented by my Canadian source that if White is placed in either of these positions, he would have the power to influence to a great degree deliberations on all international financial arrangements.

This source, which is apparently aware of at least some of the charges incorporated in the attached memorandum against White, commented that the loyalty of White must be assured, particularly in view of the fact that the U. S. S. R. had not ratified the Bretton Woods agreement. Fear was expressed that facts might come to light in the future throwing some sinister accusations at White and thereby jeopardize the successful operation of these important international financial institutions.

I thought you would be particularly interested in the above comments, which originated with sources high placed in the Canadian Government, on the subject at hand.

With expressions of my highest esteem,

Sincerely yours,

J. EDGAR HOOVER.

This second FBI report cannot, as I stated in my Chicago speech, be made public without jeopardizing confidential sources of information and techniques of intelligence operations. That is a firm policy of this administration. We will never impair the most important work of the FBI by making public FBI reports.

However, the essential facts may be disclosed to this subcommittee.

At the outset, the purpose of the report is stated in the following language:

The purpose of this memorandum is to relate all of the information available at this time concerning Harry Dexter White, his activities and contacts in order that an overall picture may be available for review, action, or future reference. This information has been received from numerous confidential sources whose reliability has been established either by inquiry or long-established observation and evaluation. In no instance is any transaction or events related where the reliability of the source of information is questionable. It is with these factors in mind that the following material is set forth.

Now, I proceed with the essential facts.

The report then proceeded to point out that information had come to the attention of the FBI from a confidential source that Harry Dexter White was engaged in espionage activities at least as early as the latter part of 1942 or early in 1943. It was reported that White was supplying information consisting of documents obtained by him in the course of his duties as Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury Department to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and to William Ludwig Ullmann who resided at 5515 Thirtieth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The material consisted of reports of a varied nature concerning the financial activities of the United States Government, particularly if they related to foreign commitments. Also various memoranda and reports from other governmental departments and agencies were made available through these channels. It was reported that these documents had usually been reduced to photographs by the time they were observed but on occasions the original documents themselves were seen.

During the investigation of these charges, it was learned that a complete photographic laboratory did in fact exist in the basement of the Silvermaster home sufficiently well equipped for the copying of documents. This included an enlarger, developing equipment, and all the necessary chemicals and other incidentals.

These documents, consisting of notes taken therefrom or verbatim copies, were usually photographed and delivered through channels to Jacob M. Golos, a known Soviet agent. (Jacob M. Golos whose real name is Jacob Raisin pleaded guilty to an indictment along with World Tourists, Inc., charging failure to register as agents of the Soviet Government in March 1940. He received a fine of \$500 and a jail sentence of 4 months to 1 year which was later changed to probation.) The material collected in this particular parallel of Soviet espionage was all channeled through Golos eventually to the Soviet diplomatic establishment in this country. The report pointed out that it could be presumed after arrival at this destination that material of primary interest to the Soviets was forwarded to Moscow,

U. S. S. R., via diplomatic code and material concerning which there was no urgency reached that destination through the Soviet diplomatic pouch.

Subsequent to the death of Golos, the material gathered by the Silvermasters and Ullmann originating with White, according to the information received by the FBI, went through an unknown individual to Anatole Borosovich Gromov, former First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C. Suspicions had previously surrounded the activities of Gromov to the effect that he was the successor to Vassili Zubilin, reported head of the NKVD, one of the primary branches of Soviet Intelligence in North America. Zubilin returned to Moscow, U. S. S. R., in the late summer of 1944, and Gromov departed from the United States for Moscow, U. S. S. R., on December 7, 1945. From all appearances, the position previously held by Gromov to whom this material was transmitted prior to his departure was next held by Feodor Alexeevich Garanin, an official of the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C.

According to the information received by the FBI, White was considered one of the most valuable assets in this particular parallel of Soviet intelligence. This view was taken since in his capacity as Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, those individuals whom this group were anxious to have assigned there could be placed in the Treasury Department. Among the persons in this category were William Ludwig Ullmann, William Henry Taylor, and Sonia Steinman Gold.

Sometime in the summer or fall of 1943, the Silvermasters believed it desirable to have someone placed as a secretary to White in order to facilitate the obtaining of information from his office for delivery to Soviet espionage agents. As a result of these deliberations, Mrs. Helen Witte Silvermaster went to one of the Communist functionaries in Washington, D. C., and from this source secured the name of Sonia Steinman Gold. Eventually, Mrs. Gold, through arrangements with White, obtained a position (as one of the secretaries) in the United States Treasury Department.

As a result of this employment, Mrs. Gold obtained documents from White's office, which she copied and made her notes available to Mrs. Helen Witte Silvermaster. The information which Mrs. Gold obtained in a general way concerned principally the Treasury Department's opinions and recommendations concerning applications for loans made by the Chinese and French Governments.

It was also reported that there was in existence another parallel of Soviet Intelligence operating within the United States Government and headed by Victor Perlo. The information gathered from the Perlo group was channeled through Jacob M. Golos and on to the Soviet diplomatic establishment in the same manner as outlined for the operation of the Silvermaster group.

Because of the relationships existing between Golos and the Perlo group, Harold Glasser appeared in the picture. Glasser was rather closely associated with White and was able to supply general information concerning the activities of the United States Treasury Department, particularly where they concerned proposed loans to foreign countries. He also supplied information originating in the Foreign Economic Administration which had been sent to the United States Treasury Department for action or information.

The report states that the Bureau had secured the names of a number of persons described as members of the underground Communist group in Washington, D. C., from another source. Among those names was that of Abraham George Silverman whom the report describes as formerly employed by the Railroad Retirement Board and the United States Army Air Forces and as privately employed by the French Supply Council of the French Government. As incidental to the mention of Silverman the report states that the information received was to the effect that Silverman worked through close friends who were indebted to him, including Harry Dexter White and others. The report points out that this information concerning the relationship between Silverman and White is consistent with the information referred to earlier from the other source.

The section then relates to White's known contacts with Russian officials over the years and, therefore, cannot be declassified. It should be said here that these contacts were not inconsistent with the regular performance of White's duties and considered by themselves are not incriminating.

In July 1945 a clerical employee of the Passport Division of the Department of State, who formerly was employed as a clerk by the Soviet Government Purchasing Commission, was allegedly stealing certain information from the official records of the Department of State for transmittal to unknown persons. This individual apparently admitted that he had collected this information in the course of his employment and knew a man who would pay him \$1,000 for it. In his application for employment with the Department of State this individual who stole this information had listed Harry Dexter White as a reference and White had recommended him highly. The report added that this circumstance was being set forth in view of the allegations to the effect that White was considered of extreme value because of his influence in securing positions for persons who could be of assistance to Soviet espionage.

The report mentions that White was interviewed by the FBI in connection with the Amerasia case, particularly concerning Irving S. Friedman, who, according to the report, was known to be one of the sources in the Treasury Department Section on Far Eastern Affairs that had been furnishing documents to Philip Jacob Jaffe, editor of Amerasia. White told the FBI that Friedman was an employee in the Treasury Department handling matters dealing with monetary affairs in the Far East, and admitted that he had brought Friedman to the Treasury Department 5 or 6 years earlier.

The report contains much corroborative evidence which cannot be made public either because it would disclose investigative techniques of the FBI or because it might be harmful to the national interest. It can be pointed out, however, that over a period of 3 months beginning in November of 1945 the activities of Harry Dexter White were entirely consistent with all the previous information contained in the report. White was in frequent close personal contact with nearly every one of the persons named as his associates in the spy ring. These include Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and his wife, William Ullmann, Sonia Gold, Harold Glasser, Abraham Silverman, and others.

The report referred to a trip made by White to visit Dr. Abraham Wolfson, of Newark, N. J. Wolfson had been reported by numerous

sources as having had frequent and close contacts with numerous Communists in the State of New Jersey. The report pointed out that Dr. Wolfson in 1944 was a member of the third ward branch of the Communist Party and that he had been active in Communist Party activities for the preceding 7 years under the name of A. Wilson Street. It was also pointed out in the report that Wolfson held Communist Party meetings in his office.

The report stated that in December of 1945 White was seen at 3210 P Street NW., in Washington, which at that time was the home of Alger Hiss, and pointed out that from other sources Hiss was reportedly working for another parallel of Soviet espionage.

In December of 1945 White and his wife visited the home of Maurice Halperin, who was employed by the Office of Strategic Services. The report pointed out that Halperin was a member of the Communist Party and beginning in 1942 he passed on information to an espionage courier.

The report refers to the close personal relationship in 1945 between White and Frank Coe who was also one of the individuals supplying information to the Silvermasters and thence through channels to the Soviet Government.

The report points out in considerable detail the contacts between White and Lee Pressman. The report points out that Lee Pressman was a member of an underground group headed by Harold Ware, which had its headquarters in Washington. The report points out many of Pressman's activities as a Communist.

The report points out that Silvermaster's position in the Treasury Department was secured for him by White. The report points out that the Bureau's informant had identified Silvermaster as the head spy in the espionage ring with which White was working and that Silvermaster has a long record of reported association with known Communists. The report also points out that other sources of information had established that Silvermaster was acquainted with many other individuals who were strongly suspected of Soviet espionage. The report also points out that Mrs. Silvermaster has a long history of association with Communist-front groups.

It is stated in the report that in addition to the many contacts between White and Ullman which were disclosed, White wrote a letter in November 1940 on the stationery of Director of Monetary Research of the United States Treasury Department requesting the deferment of Ullman. After Ullman left the Army and entered the Treasury Department he worked in the division headed by White.

The report pointed out that Harold Glasser was in another branch of Soviet espionage headed by Victor Perlo. Glasser was an assistant to White in the Treasury Department. It was reported that Glasser was described by numerous sources as a member of the Communist Party. In addition to this information, the report points out a great many other connections and contacts among the members of the espionage ring, all of which supported and were consistent with the earlier portions of the report.

It is interesting to note how accurate this information was that the FBI supplied at that time. Following is a list of White's close associates referred to in the FBI reports who were members of the espionage ring who have claimed their privilege not to answer questions on the grounds that it would incriminate them: Silvermaster, Perlo, Glasser, Coe, Ullman, Silverman, Halperin, and Kaplan.

Also there is Lee Pressman, who admitted membership in the Communist Party, and Alger Hiss, who has since been convicted.

Of course, no one could, with any validity, suggest today that there is any doubt that White was in this espionage ring. Some of White's original espionage reports, written by him in his own handwriting for delivery to agents of the Red Army Intelligence, were recovered in the fall of 1948 and are now in the possession of the Department of Justice. I have photostatic copies of them here and I offer the copies as part of the record of my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. That will become a part of the record. (The photostatic reports referred to above follow):

4/16/49 Taylor tried to persuade the Committee (under the impression that it would act as a board) to become a part of the offer from Hungary of settlement of the 3 million dollars debt to the U.S. The payment offered was through the U.S. Treasury. He believed, I said, that it would be established a pattern in these acts of settlement without involving the whole problem. The fact that the Hungarian Government involved was Taylor was no reason to accept the offer and should not be a principle of settlement. (What is believed Taylor to have said, I said, was to persuade the Committee to accept the offer and should not be a principle of settlement of that kind. At this time, I said Taylor try to convince the Committee directly involved of something else was not.)

4/17/49 He said Taylor had not said a word in the light of the committee's report to me and I said to Taylor that a meeting should be held with only the light of communication and no other matters. Taylor was not interested in

in common loyalty of against Japan. Some incident may develop which will lead them to the chances of air cooperation. We are likely to cut them only if unusually bad incident occurs such as another Panam incident.

Japan according to its treaty has insisted on the the strategic position for oil. Tanks built working on with two layers of thick cement and air space between as protection against bombing.

Reported yesterday through through private trading connection (unknown but supposed to be important) that J.I. will not do business with them for some time at least.

See recently that Japan with China oil is quite interested.

The last most discussed section of Japanese
 "dumping" of textiles into U.S. and we require
 import to put up Japan 100% tariff against import.
 I suspect volume of dumping will increase.

About a month ago the Press asked Sec. of
 Commerce to find out why obstacles in the path of imports
 from Japan are so small under existing regulations.
 We have made only a little progress to date on the
 matter but our purchases from Japan are
 declining, ~~unmistakably~~ steadily, mostly
 on items other than silk. Our import average
 about two-thirds of last year's average.
 Part of the decline is due, of course, to our
 own reduction in purchases from all countries.

Japan's dollar balances in U.S. are
 not declining much. They are about 50
 million dollars.

Purchases of Japanese goods by
 our government, sharply which are expected
 to those countries are increasing.

It is Dept's believe British more toward
 Italy and Germany will reduce substantially
 imports from Japan in the near future.

If Japan reports another incident like the Yang-mooted Yang-mooted, is all ready to exchange Japanese imports with a freeze her dollar balances. This was done at the time of the 1937-38 war, and it remains unknown whether it was a success.

We have just agreed to purchase 50 million
oz of cotton for China. At present we
will have left (Chinese all in hand) for
about 100 million oz. of cotton. The other
cottons are almost all gone.

I didn't just object to her (being a woman)
 coming by herself, I was opposed to her
 married way of her mind and power he would
 greatly strengthen her with the 50% of power
 which the French will at once come to be
 admitted and of Germany's interference in Europe.
 He also stated that if he had just met if he had
 she would cut through "Communist mistakes
 like butter" and would also go through "just
 native" "Catholics" against their wishes. He said
 I don't think there is any closer union of the

becoming known.

Raymond believed the situation of France & Britain ~~was~~ economic situation is ~~disastrous~~ to permit a ~~short~~ sharp dip in the franc. Also to form a "national" cabinet that would include all elements. Blum claims he doesn't want to be Prime Minister.

Merdunians tried feebly to get Lloyd to agree to support the franc. (Not the slightest chance.) The prospects of continued depression & panic are very strong.

I have heard nothing as to Capt. Ingworth's mission in England beyond my earlier impression. So far as the Treasury is concerned he is supposed to be there in case of another incident with regard to that trust he would serve as secret liaison man between Lloyd & U.S. unknown to anybody as to the nature of his mission. The Chamberlain turned his down at the time of the Kewey mission when we asked him whether he would cooperate with us in placing exchange restrictions against Japanese operations in case we decided to do so, but another Kewey-like incident may bring this around.

State Dept. was so far in the capital. However, still offer to send him to see the President. But Congress doesn't want to begin yet. I don't know if

Director of the Swiss Bank, Zurich, dated 24/5/40, that the Japanese have recently put out a feeling to some of their banks for a loan for industrial development in Manchukuo. However, his institution had not sufficient interest in such a proposition even to submit it to the National Bank for consideration and possible approval.

I have been impressed by the soundness of my friends' views on forestry, and hope in the New Zealand report on a basis for a possible approach between Germany and the British and the French.

Robertson said he & Matinsky did not know
what had taken place at the meeting of interest
Heller and Father Briggs.

65 big check
4 little ships

The New Zealand report was not
taken seriously here.

The information contained in these reports was, as the subcommittee knows, of great importance at the time White wrote them although, with the lapse of time, the necessity for secrecy on these subjects has disappeared.

But the record which was available to the Truman administration in December 1945 and thereafter should have been sufficient to convince anyone that White was a hazard to our Government.

The question which had to be decided at that time was not whether White could have been convicted of treason. There was ample evidence that he was not loyal to the interests of our country. That was enough. Government employment is a privilege, not a right, and we

don't have to wait until a man is convicted of treason before we can remove him from a position of trust and confidence.

When I was first invited to appear before this subcommittee, I thought from what I had read in the newspapers that there was some issue of fact involved on the question of whether Mr. Truman knew about Harry Dexter White's espionage activities at the time he appointed him as Executive Director for the United States of the International Monetary Fund. I read in the newspaper that after being advised of my speech in Chicago, Mr. Truman stated to the press that he had never read any of the derogatory reports concerning Harry Dexter White to which I referred. I read later that Mr. Truman said that he fired White as soon as he discovered he was disloyal. On the basis of these statements I thought that the accuracy of what I had said in Chicago was being challenged.

However, it now seems in the light of Mr. Truman's television speech of last night that it is conceded that on February 6, 1946, the day on which White's appointment was confirmed by the Senate, Mr. Truman did read the most important of the reports to which I referred, and that he thereafter, even though he had a legal right to ask that the nomination be withdrawn, signed White's commission and permitted him to take office on the first day of May with full knowledge of the facts reported by the FBI.

It is, of course, extraordinary to learn from Mr. Truman, in view of his earlier statements, that he signed Mr. White's commission with the thought that it might help to catch him. I would think that the commissioning of a suspected spy to an office of such great importance would not be easily forgotten. It seems to me even more extraordinary to learn that Mr. Truman was aware as early as 1946 that a Communist spy ring was operating within his own administration when for so many years since that time he has been telling the American people exactly the opposite. Indeed, it seems to me that this explanation of White's appointment—that is, that he was appointed and allowed to remain in office for more than a year in order to help the FBI trap him as a spy—raises more questions than it answers.

While under suspicion and surveillance White was, we are told, appointed as the first United States Executive Director of the fund. He was also its chief architect. The opportunities afforded him in that capacity for betraying the country were very great.

There were matters of great importance to the United States which were handled by the Executive Directors while White was a member. A first order of business was to plan the general organization of the staff. It was agreed to divide the staff into five primary departments and offices. Each of these departments and offices has a director. One of these five primary departments was called the Office of the Secretary. Now, who received the position of Head of the Office of Secretary? It was Frank Coe, named in the FBI report as a member of the espionage ring, at a salary of \$20,000 a year.

THE CHAIRMAN. Was that a tax-free salary of \$20,000?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I would have to check the records.

Recently this subcommittee had occasion to inquire of Mr. Coe whether he was presently engaged in subversive activities. Mr. Coe replied:

Mr. Chairman, under the protection afforded me by the fifth amendment, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Coe continued in the employ of the fund until as recently as December 3, 1952, when he was finally dismissed.

Who received the position of adviser to the United States member of the Board? It was Harold Glasser, also named as a member of the espionage ring.

Glasser was subpoenaed by the Senate subcommittee on April 14, 1953, and when asked about his relationships with members of the Communist underground, he invoked his privilege against self-incrimination. He also refused under privilege to tell the subcommittee the circumstances surrounding his Government assignments within the United States or abroad.

It has now been said that White's promotion to the post of Director of the International Monetary Fund was permitted to go through so that he might be better kept under surveillance, and so the investigation of the other members of the ring might continue unimpaired. It is suggested that permitting White to continue his espionage operations might enable the Truman administration to entrap not only White, but the whole Soviet espionage ring working within our Government.

To accomplish such an end would require infinite and detailed care if the national interest was to be at all protected.

In the first place, arrangements would have to be made to insure absolute control of the subjects and the situation. Some time limits would have to be established.

If the national interest were to be protected, measures would have had to be designed to prevent classified material with a significant bearing on national security from reaching White and the others. Top responsible officials of the United States Government, whose duties brought them in contact with White and the other members of the ring, would have had to be forewarned. Great care would have to be taken to make certain that these spies did not affect the decisions of our Government.

The records available to me fail to indicate that any of these minimum precautions were taken. The records available to me fail to show that anything was done which interfered with the continued functioning of the espionage ring of which White was a part.

And if we apply simple and reasonable tests to how other members of the espionage ring named in the FBI report were treated, there is considerable doubt that anything was done to protect the national interest. Let me offer you a few examples.

Harold Glasser, a close subordinate and associate of White, was described in the FBI report as an active member of the espionage ring. What controls were established over the movements of Harold Glasser? In July 1946 Glasser attended the UNRRA conference in Geneva, Switzerland, as a member of the United States delegation. In January 1947 Glasser went to Trieste as a United States member of a four-power commission to study the economic aspects of the Trieste problem. At the special request of the State Department in March and April 1947, Glasser attended the Moscow meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers as an adviser to the United States Secretary of State.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was then Secretary of State?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Mr. Marshall.

How was Glasser's access to classified materials limited? As far as we have been able to determine, it was not. Records in the Department indicate that late in 1946 Glasser, described as a member of the espionage ring, received a copy of the FBI report on Victor Perlo which described him as a member of the Soviet espionage ring. Perlo stayed on in the Treasury Department until March 27, 1947, and then left to accept the post of Treasurer of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

Nathan Gregory Silvermaster in March 1946 was promoted to become the Chief Economist of the War Assets Administration's Division of Economic and Market Research. After the report was made, William Ullmann and Irving Kaplan stayed on with the Department of the Treasury without any restrictions being placed on them or their activities as far as we can determine.

This subcommittee, I am sure, will want to examine with great care the claim that there was a plan to keep White and others in the espionage ring in Government employment in the hope of catching them. You will also want to investigate, I believe, what care was used to protect the national security. These are very grave questions to which the public is entitled to complete answers.

As members of this subcommittee know, this administration is trying an entirely different approach to security problems.

Despite difficulties stemming from past laxity, 1,456 employees have actually been separated from Federal Government payrolls since January 1953 on the grounds that they are security risks. More cases are still under consideration.

Our work to date has clearly shown the need for at least two new laws to help the Government in the prosecution of espionage cases.

Senator McCLELLAN. For clarification, you say 1,456 employees have actually been separated. Have they been dismissed or permitted to resign, or does that include both categories?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Both categories. They were permitted to resign while they were under investigation for being security risks.

Senator JOHNSTON. Were they all fired on account of espionage activities?

Attorney General BROWNELL. No, security risks.

Senator JOHNSTON. Some of them were habitual drunkards?

Attorney General BROWNELL. That is correct.

Senator JOHNSTON. And other things. Some were sex perverts?

Attorney General BROWNELL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Attorney General BROWNELL. Our work to date has clearly shown the need for at least two new laws to help the Government in the prosecution of espionage cases. I hope that these proposed laws will be considered by Congress at its session starting in January. The first would allow the Government to use wiretap evidence to prove its espionage cases. At the present time information received by tapping wires cannot be used as evidence in the Federal courts.

There are cases of espionage presently in the Department of Justice, but since some of the important evidence was obtained by wiretapping, the cases cannot be proved in court and therefore there will be no prosecution so long as the law remains in its present state. The second proposed law would allow proper authorities in Government to grant

immunity to witnesses who are suspected of espionage or Communist activities, but who refuse to testify under the fifth amendment on the ground that their testimony might incriminate them. As I stated before, a number of persons who worked with Harry Dexter White in his important Government assignments, have refused to testify on this ground. If the Government, under proper safeguards, is authorized to grant immunity to such persons, we believe we can obtain testimony which will assist in tracking down the higher ups engaged in conspiracy to overthrow our Government by force and violence.

The White case illustrates that it is not enough for men in high Government positions to be loyal. They must also be vigilant to combat the dangers to our Government and to our free institutions.

I thank the subcommittee for this opportunity to set forth these facts in the case of Harry Dexter White.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Mr. Morris, I believe you have a series of questions you want to ask the Attorney General. Will you proceed now with your questions?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Brownell, up to date this subcommittee has been addressing itself principally to the November 1945 security memorandum, which Vice President Nixon has identified as a security report which was circulated to the President of the United States and to other chief officials in the United States Government.

In your testimony to date you have adverted to three other documents of this time. I understand there was a letter from Mr. Hoover dated November 8, 1945, which I take it was more of an alert than anything else. There was a detailed report dated November 27, 1945, and in addition there was a report which was submitted by Mr. Hoover at the time of Mr. White's nomination. I believe that was dated February 6, 1946.

The CHAIRMAN. February 4.

Mr. MORRIS. February 4.

Attorney General BROWNELL. It may have been dated February 1, and delivered on the 4th.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Brownell, with respect to the November 8, 1945, letter to General Vaughan, does your Department show that distribution was made to any party other than General Vaughan of that particular letter?

Attorney General BROWNELL. If it does, I will be glad to furnish it to the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. I will ask you the same question with respect to the memorandum of November 27, 1945.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I think I have made public the records on the distribution of that, but I will be glad to furnish it to the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. So we can put it in our record.

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And the third would be the distribution given to the February 1, 1946 memorandum on Harry Dexter White.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I will check the records and do the same.

(The information to be furnished appears in the record of the hearing on November 23, 1953, at p. 1169.)

Mr. MORRIS. I think you have told us to the best of your ability, Mr. Brownell, what was in the 1945 memorandum, November 1945 memorandum.

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You have told us all you feel you can, consistent with security regulations, about that particular document?

Attorney General BROWNELL. And protection of the FBI, that is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. I think you have told us that there were many other individuals in addition to Mr. White who were mentioned in that particular memorandum.

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with the February 1946 memorandum, have you told us in full what you feel this committee can know about that particular memorandum?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you told us who received that memorandum.

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Does your Department show any records that there was a covert understanding on the part of the Attorney General's Office in the matter of Harry Dexter White, the nature indicated by the evidence, and that he was being allowed to stay in office in order to be subjected to surveillance?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Covert agreement?

Mr. MORRIS. A covert agreement of any kind.

Attorney General BROWNELL. May I check with my associates on that, who are more familiar with the details of the records?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

Attorney General BROWNELL. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, there has been raised on several occasions the possibility that there was a covert agreement among the parties concerned that Mr. White would stay in the position that he was about to assume and that he would therefore be subject to greater surveillance.

Attorney General BROWNELL. My answer is that to the best of my knowledge, there is no such evidence in the records of the Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there any record made that such an agreement was entered into concerning, say, Harold Glasser?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I think I better check that and furnish it to the committee. As far as I know, there was not.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. From the point of view of this committee, Mr. Brownell, it would seem that the evidence concerning Harold Glasser, Alger Hiss, Victor Perlo, and another case, Frank Coe, was equally as impressive as the evidence about Mr. White. So therefore, presumably if there was an undertaking in connection with subjecting Mr. White to surveillance, there should have been one in connection with watching these others?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I will check the records of the Department and advise this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. There is one other thing, Mr. Chairman, which I would like to ask Mr. Brownell. I think we have some records here, but in the event these records are not the most perfect records, I would like the testimony of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. In the letter of February 1, 1946, Mr. Hoover pointed out:

It is further commented by my Canadian source that if White is placed in either of these positions—

the two positions posted there were President of the International Bank or Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund. Mr. Hoover went on to say—

he would have the power to influence to a great degree deliberations on all international financial arrangements.

Was he in fact made Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund as our records seem to indicate?

Attorney General BROWNELL. No. He was made United States Executive Director, in which capacity, as I understand it, he cast over 33 percent of the votes of the entire organization because of the large stake the United States had in that fund. It was \$2¾ billion.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Brownell, the bylaws of that particular organization indicate there were 12 executive directors, one representing each of the 5 larger nations, I believe, and 7 representing the smaller nations. So they had all the title of executive director, one representing the United States. So it would appear from our records, imperfect as they are, because we have not completed the case, that he was in fact appointed to the very position that Mr. Hoover was warning about.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I do not know that we have a record on that. I think my first statement covers it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sourwine would like to ask a question at this point.

Mr. SOURWINE. Directly on that point, is it not true that toward the end of his service with the International Monetary Fund that Mr. Harry Dexter White was Acting Chairman of that fund in the absence of Mr. Gutt.

Attorney General BROWNELL. That is my recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. And is it not true that when he finally got around to submitting his resignation from the fund he asked that it be accepted as of a future date and after the return of Dr. Gutt so he might continue to serve as Acting Chairman of the fund until Dr. Gutt's return? ¹

¹ State Department press release No. 1080, April 8, 1947:

"The President has sent the following letter to Hon. Harry D. White, accepting his resignation as Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund:

"APRIL 7, 1947.

"DEAR MR. WHITE: With sincere regret and considerable reluctance I accept your resignation as United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund, effective on Mr. Gutt's return from Europe.

"I know you can view with a great deal of personal satisfaction your career in public service, crowned as it has been by your ceaseless efforts to make a real contribution to the stability of international trade through the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which hold so much promise to a world desperately anxious for a lasting peace.

"You have filled with distinction your present assignment as United States representative on the Board of Executive Directors of the International Monetary Fund, and your unflinching efforts have been a source of great pride to me.

"I wish you the very best of luck and will feel free to call upon you from time to time for assistance in dealing with problems we will be continually facing in which your background and abilities make you peculiarly able to help us.

"Very sincerely yours,

"HARRY S. TRUMAN."

Attorney General BROWNELL. That could be.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, you may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Brownell, in the course of your testimony you mentioned several individuals who are still at work in the International Monetary Fund. I suppose that our security agencies have notified to the fullest all the interested parties about the fact that there is some evidence about these two gentlemen. When we had them before our committee, William Henry Taylor and Irving Friedman were both still employed by the International Monetary Fund.

Attorney General BROWNELL. As I understand it, at least as late as a month ago Taylor was still employed there. I would have to check the records on the other one.

Mr. MORRIS. At any rate, all the security agencies have been alerted to the evidence for whatever it is?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes, before the end of January 1953.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the committee should know that we have called both of these gentlemen in executive session, but the subcommittee has felt that they are not completed cases as far as we are concerned.

Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions by any member of the committee?

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask this question: Mr. Attorney General, are you in a position to evaluate the relative sensitivity of the position of the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and a director of the International Monetary Fund?

Attorney General BROWNELL. The salary as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury was ninety-six or ninety-eight hundred dollars.

Senator BUTLER. I am directing my question more to the question of sensitivity.

Attorney General BROWNELL. The salary of the other was about \$17,000. That is one way to measure it. The other way to measure it—and I think a more accurate way—is to review the description I gave of the powers of that new position in my statement. They were very extensive.

Senator BUTLER. In your opinion, then, a director of the International Monetary Fund is in a much more sensitive position than would be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury?

“Following is the text of Mr. White’s letter to the President :

“MARCH 31, 1947.

“DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing to submit my resignation as United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund. I have for some time cherished the idea of returning to private enterprise but did not want to leave the Government until the Bretton Woods organizations, in which I am so deeply interested, were well launched. The work of the fund is now off to a good start. The period of active operations is just beginning, and this is an opportune time for my successor to take over.

“In the absence of Mr. Gutt, who is in Europe on business for the fund, I am Acting Chairman and have promised to remain until he returns in the early part of May.

“I want to thank you, Mr. President, for your confidence in me and for the opportunity you gave me, as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and as United States Executive Director of the fund, to help bring the Bretton Woods proposals to realization. I shall continue to follow their work closely and will, of course, be glad to help any time I am called upon.

“It has been a source of satisfaction and encouragement to know of your keen interest in the fund and your policy of bending every effort toward achieving a stable and prosperous world economy. I shall always remember with pleasure my connection with your administration.

“Please accept my warm personal regards and good wishes.

“Respectfully yours,

“HARRY D. WHITE.”

Attorney General BROWNELL. I think Russia would have been very happy to know all of the information that was there.

Senator BUTLER. I would like to point out that Mr. Truman said last night in talking about the relative sensitivity of those two positions—he queried as to the sensitivity at all of the latter position. You apparently do not agree with that. It is a sensitive position.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I would call it a sensitive position. It is a matter of judgment.

Senator JOHNSTON. I believe you said that the Russians would be glad to know that information. Didn't they have a director there?

Attorney General BROWNELL. They did not have the confidential files of the United States Executive Director is what I was trying to point out.

Senator JOHNSTON. In what way would they not have a file that our director had?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Each executive director has his own confidential files furnished by his own government. What I was trying to say and did not express too clearly is that they would like to know what was in our executive director's confidential files.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions by any member of the committee or counsel?

Senator McClellan, you may proceed.

Senator McCLELLAN. Mr. Brownell, as I understand your testimony, you give a summary or your own evaluation of the memorandum that was attached to this letter of February 1, 1946, which constitutes the second—

Attorney General BROWNELL. My idea of what the essential facts were.

Senator McCLELLAN. That is your evaluation of the essential facts?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. You are not prepared to make the whole document public?

Attorney General BROWNELL. That is correct, for the reasons I have stated.

Senator McCLELLAN. May I inquire whether you consulted with the head of the FBI, Mr. Hoover, in making the evaluation of that report as you have stated in your testimony today?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I accept full responsibility for the evaluation. I would like to have Mr. Hoover state his part in it.

Senator McCLELLAN. What I am trying to determine is, is it your independent evaluation without consultation with the director of the FBI?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. Would others evaluating it probably come to different conclusions to those you expressed?

Attorney General BROWNELL. They might evaluate different parts differently, but I cannot see how any reasonable person, certainly with legal training, could reach a different result.

Senator McCLELLAN. You think there is little room for doubt or differences of opinion as to the import of the FBI report on Harry Dexter White?

Attorney General BROWNELL. That is my judgment, Senator.

Senator McCLELLAN. Then if I may go back to the beginning of your testimony, is this a correct quotation from your speech of November 6:

Harry Dexter White was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him to the most sensitive and important position he ever held in the Government service.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I think that is a correct quotation of one sentence of my speech.

Senator McCLELLAN. That is a correct quotation of one sentence of your speech?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. When you used the term "the very people," whom did you include? Who made the appointment and who did you include?

Attorney General BROWNELL. The appointment was made by Mr. Truman.

Senator McCLELLAN. The appointment was made by Mr. Truman?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. When you used the term "people," it applied to former President Truman?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. That is whom you meant?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. The import of it was that Harry Dexter White at the time the appointment was made was known by Harry Truman to be a Communist spy. Is that not correct?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes. He said last night, as I heard his speech, that he had read the report.

Senator McCLELLAN. Did you mean to convey that impression to the public and to the Nation when you made that statement that at the time President Harry Truman appointed Harry Dexter White that President Truman then knew him to be a Communist spy?

Attorney General BROWNELL. That he had read the report and that any reasonable man reading that report would so conclude.

Senator McCLELLAN. You used the word "knew"; was known to be.

Then you believed at the time you made the statement, and you meant to convey that impression to the public, that at the time of the appointment Harry Dexter White was known to be a Communist spy by President Truman.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I don't want you to put words in my mouth, Senator.

Senator McCLELLAN. I am not. I am using your words.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I want to say exactly what I meant, and I want to say it in my words because I am quite sure they are accurate.

Senator McCLELLAN. I do not see how anyone can get any other impression from it except what I have just said. If there is any other impression to be gotten from it, will you tell me what it is?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I think that any reasonable person reading that report, especially if he had legal training, would have come to that conclusion.

Senator McCLELLAN. I am not questioning yours. You did come to that conclusion and you expressed it.

Attorney General BROWNELL. And I think anyone fairly would.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't Mr. Truman say last night he had read the report?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes; that is what I heard him say.

Senator McCLELLAN. I am not questioning that. I am trying to determine why you go on and explain in your statement that you didn't mean to convey that impression.

Senator JOHNSTON. When was the appointment made?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. There is a question pending.

Senator McCLELLAN. In your prepared statement you go on to explain that you didn't mean to convey that impression to the public.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I said exactly what I said in my statement. I did not impugn his loyalty and I did not intend to impugn his loyalty.

Senator McCLELLAN. Loyalty is one word. What other word would you use to state what you impugn?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Judgment.

Senator McCLELLAN. Would you call it stupidity or laxity, or what other term would you use?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I used the word in my speech "blindness" which I think perhaps is an accurate way of stating my opinion.

Senator McCLELLAN. Almost synonymous with stupidity?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Not in my opinion, no. Mr. Truman is not a stupid man. He was blind on this score, but he was not a stupid man and is not.

Senator McCLELLAN. Just blind on this score?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. He either appointed a Communist spy knowingly or he did not know it and according to your evaluation of the report that he had that was made available to him by the FBI, he could not have read that report and come to any other conclusion except that Harry Dexter White was a Communist spy. If he was not stupid, you are bound to believe that he would have come to that conclusion had he read the report. Is that not what you meant to imply?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I think you pretty near said it. I prefer my own words, but I think you are getting pretty close to it. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. May we have order, please.

Senator Johnston?

Senator McCLELLAN. One more question.

I wanted to clear up the confusion about whether you meant to make that charge or did not mean to make it.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I understand the question perfectly, and I think it was a very reasonable question.

Senator JOHNSTON. Mr. Brownell, I believe this nomination was sent in on January 23, 1946, is that true?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator JOHNSTON. That was prior to this memo that was sent out on February 1, is that true?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes, and after the letter of November 8 and the report of December 1.

Senator JOHNSTON. Now then, there was another report that went on February 4, 1946?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Delivered on February 4. I believe it was dated February 1.

Senator JOHNSTON. Then he was confirmed in the Senate on February 6?

Attorney General BROWNELL. That is right.

Senator JOHNSTON. Then his commission was held up until what time?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Later that same month.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you know what took place during that period of time and why it was held up?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I testified to certain facts.

Senator JOHNSTON. What was that?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I have testified to certain occurrences.

Senator JOHNSTON. You testified to certain occurrences there. Do you know whether or not the President had consultations with the Secretary of the Treasury and probably with the Secretary of State and probably also with Mr. Hoover of the FBI?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I heard his words on that last night, and I have no reason to disbelieve them.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you know, then, whether or not all of them came into agreement on what would be done at that time? Do you know or do you have any records of that?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I would like to have Mr. Hoover speak for himself. He is here and available to the committee.

Senator JOHNSTON. Now then, you also stated that at the time he knew he was a Communist spy, he was appointed, I believe that was the word?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Would you say that again?

Senator JOHNSTON. At the time he appointed him, he knew he was a Communist spy?

Attorney General BROWNELL. The exact quotation was given by Senator McClellan.

Senator JOHNSTON. Really and truly, when he made the appointment, before the commission was made, none of these reports were on his desk; is that true?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I would be amazed if that were true. As I said in my statement, this top secret letter of November 8 was addressed to General Vaughan and the first report of December 1 was sent to General Vaughan also. It dealt with about the most critical thing that has faced our country since the beginning of our Republic, a spy ring of substantial proportions in our Government.

Senator JOHNSTON. Have you read the report now of the Un-American Activities Committee of August 7, 1948? Have you read that report?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Not recently, but I imagine I have.

Senator JOHNSTON. Did you know that in that report it said that no charge of Communist Party affiliations was made against Harry Dexter White in that report?

Attorney General BROWNELL. In which report is this? In the Un-American Activities—

Senator JOHNSTON. The report in 1948.

Attorney General BROWNELL. What did it refer to?

Senator JOHNSTON. They were then questioning him and had all these different ones before them at that time.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I am glad to be able to be corrected on that.

Senator JOHNSTON. I would like if you would look into it, into that record, and see just what they did say at that time in that investigation.

Now, do you know whether or not he was before the court?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes, he testified before a grand jury.

Senator JOHNSTON. He testified along with about 100 others.

Attorney General BROWNELL. There were many others. I do not know the exact number.

Senator JOHNSTON. What year was that in?

Attorney General BROWNELL. That was in 1947, I think. It is possible it was in 1948. I think it was 1947.

Senator JOHNSTON. 1947, you think that was?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Do you have the record on that, Senator, to help me on it?

Senator JOHNSTON. The main thing I am getting at is that they had him before the grand jury.

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes.

Senator JOHNSTON. He was investigated and they did not see fit to find at that time sufficient evidence to make out a probable case. Is that true?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Would you like an explanation of that?

Senator JOHNSTON. Yes, I would like for you to explain that.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I would be very glad to give it to you.

When he came before the grand jury, of course, as I have made clear, I hope, in my original statement, much of this evidence against him was received by wiretap. Under the rules of the Federal courts, you cannot introduce before a grand jury or a Federal court in a criminal case, evidence obtained by wiretap or leads obtained from wiretap information. Therefore, that information was not available to the grand jury and, secondly, when the pressure came, when the conclusive evidence came of these papers in 1948, shortly after his death, of course that had not been discovered at that time.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are speaking of the pumpkin papers?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Sometimes called the pumpkin papers, some of which I introduced into the record of the hearing today.

Senator JOHNSTON. Chambers testified just shortly before that time; did he not?

Attorney General BROWNELL. He did not produce the pumpkin papers until a little later, including the ones in Harry Dexter White's handwriting.

Senator JOHNSTON. Where was Dexter White at that time when they were found?

Attorney General BROWNELL. He had died by that time.

Senator JOHNSTON. He had died before that time. The papers were presumably written by him?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes. I don't believe that has ever been questioned.

Senator JOHNSTON. But they were found after his death and not before he died?

Attorney General BROWNELL. That is right, along with the Alger Hiss papers.

Senator JOHNSTON. And you did not have that evidence until he had died?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Yes. I tried to make that clear.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Butler?

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Attorney General, will you go back to the colloquy between you and Senator McClellan. I want to read you a passage from President Truman's speech, or former President Truman's speech of last night, and then ask you a question:

With his duties thus restricted, he would be subject to the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury and his position would be less important and much less sensitive, if it were sensitive at all, than the position then held by him as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

The question I want to address to you is this: Does that passage not suggest to you a stubborn refusal on the part of Mr. Truman to recognize and cope with this question of Communist infiltration in the United States Government?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I would not want to characterize it. His style is pretty well known to the American people, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brownell, as a Senator, not only as a member of this committee but as a member of the United States Senate, I am interested in your reaction to this situation: These records that you have testified about being reported to the administrative branches of Government, what do you think about a situation where a man like Harry Dexter White, on Thursday, April 3, 1947, was permitted to assume a new high position in our Government? You see, the Senate confirmed this man, not knowing anything about the record about which you testified; nobody alerted the Senate that they were confirming a Soviet espionage agent to a high, important position in this Government. Then besides that affrontery, on April 3, 1947, Harry Dexter White was permitted to testify before a Senate committee, a congressional committee, as an expert, and again no member of that committee had any knowledge of his espionage activities. In other words, what can be done to protect the people's representatives from listening to and taking as an expert witness such a man as Harry Dexter White?

Attorney General BROWNELL. You raise an important point there.

The CHAIRMAN. That is of interest to me as a Senator, and I am sure it is to every other Member of the Senate. Would you give that some thought?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I shall.

The CHAIRMAN. So in the future this body will not have to confirm Soviet espionage agents, and be ignorant of the fact that they are Soviet espionage agents.

Attorney General BROWNELL. I shall do that.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that Harry Dexter White made a trip to Latin America in February and March 1947? That was a year after his confirmation. According to our records, the purpose of this trip of Mr. White to Latin American countries as determined by the Board of the fund was to consult the member countries and to obtain information concerning their exchange practices including multiple rates, exchange taxes, exchange spreads, black market, and bal-

ance of payment prospects. This decision authorizing Mr. White's trip was made by the fund Board on February 4 and 5, 1947. The records show that on February 11 to 13, he was in Costa Rica, on February 13 to the 16th he went to Nicaragua, February 16 and 17, he went to Guatemala, February 17 to 21 he returned to Mexico, February 21 to 23, he went to Panama, February 23 to 25, he went to Ecuador. He went to Peru on February 25 and stayed there until March 3. He went to Bolivia on March 3, and stayed there to the 4th. He went to Peru and stayed there between March 4 and 6. He went to Chile on March 6 and 12. He arrived in Miami on March 13, and returned to Washington on March 13.

Does your office have any facilities to keep a man under surveillance under those circumstances?

Attorney General BROWNELL. Mr. Hoover is here and I would like to have him answer that question.

Senator McCLELLAN. I would like to ask one more question, if I may. In view of the great public interest in this controversy or issue, I would like for you to state for the record your opinion of what constructive public interest was served or you intended to be served by using the language that I have quoted previously from your speech of November 6. What constructive public interest did you have in mind would be served by you making such charges against a former President of the United States?

Attorney General BROWNELL. I think this is the best way to answer that question, Senator. I believe in freedom of information. I believe that when a situation like this exists in Government, that no man in office, no matter how high his position, should withhold those facts if he can expose them without endangering the national security. I did not endanger the national security by doing what I did, and I hope and pray I have performed a significant public service.

Senator McCLELLAN. May I ask you one other question. By reason of that statement having been made, it was a premeditated statement, of course. You had your remarks prepared, I assume. Did you have in mind that that public statement and charges against a former President of the United States could in any way now help rid this Government of Communist spies or espionage agents?

Attorney General BROWNELL. By all means, yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. You think that helps.

The CHAIRMAN. For our record, the committee which I referred to that Harry Dexter White testified before as an expert was the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate.

The subcommittee has deliberated very carefully about the advisability of calling the next witness. This man is the custodian of the Nation's security, and as such must be kept out of every other activity. We feel that he should not be called before congressional committees except where in a situation urgently warrants, to clear up any possible imputation of irregularity.

During the past few days there has been a widely publicized rumor that Harry Dexter White was allowed to stay in office pursuant to an agreement worked out with Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. I stated on Friday that Mr. Hoover's role in government was such that such an arrangement was outside the purview of his duties, but the reports have been persistent, so much so that it has been necessary for us

to complete our record and to ask him to give his account. We are concerned only with the facts which can now be disclosed and this subcommittee appreciates the necessity of keeping this man aloof from any controversy.

For that reason we have requested Mr. Hoover to be here. We have made this request to the Attorney General, and we have done it only because we feel it is absolutely necessary.

Mr. Hoover, would you be sworn to testify? Do you swear the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HOOVER. I do.

STATEMENT OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, ACCOMPANIED BY CLYDE TOLSON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, AND L. B. NICHOLS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

The CHAIRMAN. For our records, will you state your full name?

Mr. HOOVER. John Edgar Hoover.

The CHAIRMAN. And your present position?

Mr. HOOVER. Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside?

Mr. HOOVER. Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. HOOVER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with the reading of your prepared statement.

Mr. HOOVER. I have copies here for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We would appreciate it very much if you would distribute them.

Mr. HOOVER. As the members of this committee know, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is a service agency. It does not make policy; it does not evaluate; it secures facts upon which determinations can be made by those officials of the United States Government who have the responsibility for taking whatever action is indicated. We do not inject ourselves into legislative matters. We do not express opinions or draw conclusions in our investigative reports. We have well-defined channels of official distribution through which we direct the results of our investigations.

Since we are not an agency for decision as to action, we are legally, morally, and in good conscience obligated to relay all information and facts we secure to the responsible officials and agencies of government.

It is my duty to report to the Attorney General those matters in which he has a responsibility. It is likewise my duty, at the specific direction of the President, to report matters coming to our attention which are of pertinent interest to the President.

I mention these basic principles governing our operations since they have come into the public interest in connection with recent events and disclosures.

There is more involved here than the charges against one man. This situation has a background of some 35 years of infiltration of an alien way of life into what we have been proud to call our Constitutional Republic. Our American way of life, which has flourished under our Republic and has nurtured the blessings of a democracy, has been brought into conflict with the godless forces of communism. These Red Fascists distort, conceal, misrepresent, and lie to gain their point. Deceit is their very essence. This can never be understood until we face the realization that to a Communist there are no morals except those which further the world revolution directed by Moscow.

The Harry Dexter White and related cases are in point. White was only one person on whom self-confessed Communist espionage agents informed—there were others. In this case, the sources who gave the information were co-conspirators and either became inactive or their identities must for the time being remain undisclosed. Corroboration in each instance was most difficult to secure, because the actual facts were known only to a limited group whose personal interests dictated concealment and who conveniently had the fifth amendment as a refuge.

Coverage from an intelligence standpoint and an all-out open investigation looking toward eventual prosecution, are entirely different things. It must be remembered that the acts occurring in the prewar years occurred while we were at peace. In the pertinent time period, our national climate was one conducive to the so-called united front. Communist-front organizations flourished to the point where it appeared that to belong, in certain circles, was to be stylish.

Even today, the feeling is rife in some quarters that the FBI should not even be investigating the loyalty of Government employees. Over the years, the FBI has been the target of attack from persons both in and out of government because of its investigations of subversive activities. Even Harry Dexter White, when we interviewed him in March 1942, spent more time in denouncing investigations of Government employees than he did in furnishing facts. He observed that if the chairman of one congressional committee "was one-tenth as patriotic as I am, it would be a much better country."

The care, caution, and delicate approach necessary in such FBI investigations makes it difficult to develop full facts, particularly when those in possession of them declined to make full disclosures.

The responsibilities for internal security assigned the FBI in 1939 by presidential directive were directed toward the times of emergency rather than periods of peace. That is the situation today. It is still legal for Communists to exercise the right of assembly, free speech, and free thought.

On November 7, 1945, Miss Elizabeth Bentley advised special agents of the FBI in considerable detail of her own career as an espionage agent. On November 8, 1945, a letter bearing that date was delivered to Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, wherein it was stated:

The Bureau's information at this time indicates that the following persons were participants in this operation or were utilized by principals in this ring for the purpose of obtaining data in which the Soviet is interested.

The name of Harry Dexter White was the second name mentioned in the list of names furnished. The concluding paragraph of this three-page letter stated:

Investigation of this matter is being pushed vigorously, but I thought that the President and you would be interested in having the foregoing preliminary data immediately.

This communication was sent to General Vaughan in line with instructions conveyed to me by President Truman to call such matters in which he would have an interest to his attention through General Vaughan. I might add that the same practice so far as the FBI is concerned was followed during the administration of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In fact, this same procedure was followed during the administration of former President Herbert Hoover.

Therefore there was nothing unusual or significant about my directing a communication to General Vaughan at that time.

In the meantime, our investigation of White and others mentioned by Miss Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, as well as those individuals on whom we had adverse information from equally reliable sources, continued.

A detailed summary memorandum was then prepared consisting of 71 pages, exclusive of the index, setting forth the highlights of Soviet espionage in the United States. This memorandum, dated November 27, 1945, was delivered to General Vaughan by a special messenger on December 4, 1945. Copies of this memorandum were furnished to the Attorney General and certain other interested heads of Government agencies. This memorandum included information on Harry Dexter White.

When we learned that Harry Dexter White's name had been sent to the Senate for confirmation of his appointment as a United States delegate on the International Monetary Fund, we then consolidated the information in our files, secured from sources whose reliability has been established either by inquiry or long-established observation and evaluation, in a 28-page summary dated February 1, 1946, which was delivered to General Vaughan on February 4, 1946. The two-page cover letter of transmittal opened with this sentence:

As of interest to the President and you, I am attaching a detailed memorandum hereto concerning Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury Department.

The observation was made in this letter:

As will be observed, information has come to the attention of this Bureau charging White as being a valuable adjunct to an underground Soviet espionage organization operating in Washington, D. C.

From November 8, 1945, until July 24, 1946, seven communications went to the White House bearing on espionage activities, wherein Harry Dexter White's name was specifically mentioned.

During that same period, 2 summaries on Soviet espionage activities went to the Treasury Department and 6 summaries went to the Attorney General on the same subject matter.

The handling and reporting on the White case followed the Bureau's traditional practice of reporting all facts and all information which had come to our attention, without evaluation or conclusions. I would like here to state that an FBI report is the presentation of information for evaluation by those who perform administrative duties and have executive responsibilities.

The FBI, of course, has a duty to evaluate its sources of information. In the 28-page summary concerning White, dated February 1,

1946, delivered to General Vaughan on February 4, 1946, the information contained therein came from a total of 30 sources, the reliability of which had previously been established.

In connection with the sources, I would like to mention one in particular, Miss Elizabeth Bentley. From the very outset, we established that she had been in a position to report the facts relative to Soviet espionage which she had done. We knew she was in contact with a top-ranking Soviet espionage agent, Anatoli Gromov, the first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C., as late as November 21, 1945, in New York City. At a previous meeting on October 17, 1945, Gromov had given her \$2,000 to carry forth her work as an espionage agent.

All information furnished by Miss Bentley, which was susceptible to check, has proven to be correct. She had been subjected to the most searching of cross-examinations; her testimony has been evaluated by juries and reviewed by the courts and has been found to be accurate.

Miss Bentley's account of White's activities was later corroborated by Whittaker Chambers and the documents in White's own handwriting concerning which there can be no dispute, lend credibility to the information previously reported on White. Subsequent to White's death on August 16, 1948, events transpired which produced facts of an uncontradictable nature which clearly established the reliability of the information furnished by the FBI in 1945 and 1946.

It must be remembered that in the period from November 8, 1945, to February 22, 1946, our first concern was to safeguard the Government from infiltration by subversive elements, and in this approach, the objective of pointing attention to security risks must not be confused with prosecutive action. During this period the FBI was concerned with protecting the Government's secrets and preventing such infiltration. In fact, I took a strong stand because of premature disclosures that would result if prosecution were initiated, for the following reasons:

1. The evidence necessary to sustain convictions in indictments for law violation is entirely different from that necessary to establish the existence of security risks in sensitive posts in the Government.

2. Some of the evidence, while of an irrefutable nature, was not admissible in a court of law.

Now to return to Harry Dexter White. In a conversation on February 21, 1946, the Attorney General informed me that he had spoken with the then Secretary of the Treasury, the late Chief Justice Fred Vinson, and the President, about White. The Attorney General stated he felt the President should personally tell White that it would be best for him not to serve. I told the Attorney General I felt it was unwise for White to serve. The Attorney General then stated he would like to confer with Judge Vinson and me on the following day, February 22, 1946.

I had luncheon on February 22, 1946, in the Attorney General's office with Judge Vinson and the Attorney General, at which time there was a lengthy conference. I was told that the problem was what could be done to prevent White from taking his oath of office. Judge Vinson did not want Mr. White to serve as a United States delegate on the International Monetary Fund and, in fact, did not want him to continue as an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

On the other hand, Judge Vinson stated that the President could be forced to sign the commission since the Senate had confirmed White's appointment. I advised Judge Vinson and the Attorney General that the character of the evidence was such that it should not be publicly disclosed at that time in view of the confidential sources involved.

It was the opinion of Judge Vinson and the Attorney General, as expressed that day at luncheon, that the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney General would arrange to see the President as soon as possible; outline to him exactly what the situation was and they would suggest to the President that there were three alternatives:

One, the President could dismiss White and make no statement; two, the President could send for White and tell him he had changed his mind and that he desired White to resign and not serve; and, three, the President could sign the commission, instruct the Attorney General to continue the investigation vigorously and instruct the Secretary of the Treasury that he, as Governor of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems and of the International Bank, should take steps to see that any persons selected for appointment should not be appointed except with approval of the Governor.

It was realized, of course, that should the President follow the second alternative and White should refuse to resign, the President might then sign the commission and take the same action as considered in the third alternative.

I did not enter into any agreement to shift White from his position in the Treasury Department to the International Monetary Fund. This was not within my purview. I was at the meeting to furnish facts, which I did. There was no agreement, while I was present, between the Attorney General and Judge Vinson, other than that they should see the President with the Secretary of State and suggest the three alternatives mentioned above. I was not present in any discussions with the President concerning this matter.

I was advised on February 26, 1946, by the Attorney General that he had seen the President and that an effort would be made to remove Harry Dexter White, although the Attorney General expressed doubt that this would work out.

The Attorney General further stated to me on February 26, 1946, that he felt that White would go into the job and then would be surrounded with persons who were especially selected and were not security risks. He further stated that the President was interested in continuing the surveillance. I might add White had been under surveillance as early as November 1945. I stated if that was the desire, we would continue the investigation.

At no time was the FBI a party to an agreement to promote Harry Dexter White and at no time did the FBI give its approval to such an agreement. Such an agreement on the part of the FBI would be inconceivable. If this principle were applied to White, it would, of necessity, have applied to others who had similarly been involved in this particular investigation, who were dismissed from Government service when their subversive activities were discovered. Those dismissals occurred in March 1946, June 14 and 18, 1946, July 1946 and September 25, 1946.

At no time did the FBI interpose objections to such dismissals. No restrictions were placed upon the agencies wherein action was taken. All that we asked was that sources of information be protected.

Had it been the intent of the FBI to handle the Harry Dexter White and other related cases solely as an intelligence operation, the widespread dissemination of information that was furnished to various branches of the Government by the FBI would not have been undertaken.

Under date of February 26, 1946, I advised the Attorney General by telephone and subsequently by memorandum, of the receipt of information from a confidential source reflecting the possibility that Harry Dexter White might have received some notice of either the cancellation or impending cancellation of his appointment as a United States delegate to the International Monetary Fund. That information is absolutely reliable. I did not know whether anything had been said to White or whether any action had been taken to cancel his appointment.

The decision to retain White was made by a higher Government authority. Obviously, if a higher authority elected to shift a man rather than fire him, if he was suspect, then it would go without saying that the FBI would continue our investigation as best we could.

If in fact there was any agreement to move White from the Treasury Department to the International Monetary Fund to aid in the FBI investigation and to surround White with persons who were not security risks, then the agreement would have been broken very early because Mr. Virginius Frank Coe, a close associate of Harry Dexter White, became the Secretary of the International Monetary Fund in June 1946, which position he held until December 3, 1952, when he was dismissed after invoking the fifth amendment in an appearance before this same committee here last December. It is particularly significant that he declined to answer questions regarding his relationship with White. Information on Coe had been furnished to the White House as early as February 25, 1946; to the Attorney General, February 23, 1946, and February 25, 1946, and to the Treasury Department as early as March 4, 1946. He received his appointment as indicated in June 1946.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the FBI called to the attention of the appropriate authorities the facts, as alleged by reliable sources, which were substantial in pointing to a security risk, as they occurred. It is equally clear that the FBI did not depart from its traditional position of making no evaluation, and was not a party to any agreement to keep White in public service.

That concludes my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. On behalf of the committee, Mr. Hoover, we want to thank you for appearing here at our request. Because of the attitude that I recently expressed in calling you, we want to confine our hearing to this particular matter. We are appreciative of your coming here and throwing enlightenment on this very important subject.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Senator BUTLER. I would like to ask one question. What opportunity did the FBI have after Mr. White's transfer to the Monetary Fund to observe his activities?

Mr. HOOVER. I may say, Senator Butler, that the FBI, as I indicated in my formal statement, had initiated an investigation and surveillance of Mr. White in November 1945. He was appointed in the early part of 1946. We continued our surveillance and investigation of Mr. White through 1946 and at times in 1947 and 1948, but I must point out that while he was a member of the United States Monetary Commission, the premises of that Commission are extraterritorial, and the FBI does not have any right to follow any employee or any person onto the property of that Commission. We are under the same restrictions in regard to the United Nations.

Senator BUTLER. Therefore, his appointment hampered your investigation rather than helped it?

Mr. HOOVER. We were certainly hampered as far as surveillances were concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Also hampered in regard to Mr. Frank Coe, because as I understand, you reported that he was a security risk; and in spite of that, he was appointed in June 1946, I believed you stated, to the Monetary Fund.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. I might say that the same problem is faced today by the FBI in conducting investigations of espionage activities of members who are attached to the delegations of the United Nations.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir, we run into the same problem in our committee.

Senator BUTLER. Do you have any doubt as to the sensitivity of that agency?

Mr. HOOVER. I frankly know very little about the operations of the agency, Senator. I would not want to express any opinion for that reason.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions? Senator McClellan?

Senator McCLELLAN. Mr. Hoover, you were present, were you not, when Attorney General Brownell testified?

Mr. HOOVER. I was.

Senator McCLELLAN. You heard his summary or his evaluation of the memorandum regarding Mr. White that you submitted to the President, the second memorandum—

Mr. HOOVER. February 4.

Senator McCLELLAN. February 1.

Mr. HOOVER. Dated February 1 and delivered on February 4.

Senator McCLELLAN. Would you say that his evaluation and conclusions as testified to here were well warranted by that memorandum?

Mr. HOOVER. Senator, you are asking me to violate the very tradition which I have meticulously adhered to over the years, namely, that I will refuse to evaluate the contents of any report.

Senator McCLELLAN. I did not mean to do that.

Mr. HOOVER. I understand that. I could not answer that question.

Senator McCLELLAN. I anticipated you might answer it that way, but I thought in view of the fact that you had supplied the information, that your Department had supplied it, and he evaluated it, it would be interesting to know if you placed the same evaluation on it; and yet you cannot make comment on that?

Mr. HOOVER. I may point out that in my statement I did refer to the fact that in my conference with the then Attorney General in

February 1946, when the Attorney General indicated he thought Mr. White should not serve, I stated I thought he was also unfit. That is as far as I went.

Senator McCLELLAN. May I ask you this further question. As I understand your testimony, there was never any conference with you or any suggestion to you for any arrangements with the FBI that the man be kept in Government service in order to afford the FBI an opportunity for further surveillance?

Mr. HOOVER. That is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I have some questions.

Mr. HOOVER, you stated in your statement today that from November 8, 1945, until July 24, 1946, 7 communications went to the White House bearing on espionage activities wherein Harry Dexter White's name was specifically mentioned.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. I think in the course of your statement also you struck an emergency note in several of those. Knowing your function and knowing what the function of the FBI is, could you tell us if there was anything more that you could have done to alert the executive branch of the Government to the dangerous underlying security situation which you have so well described here today?

Mr. HOOVER. As I indicated, when the letter of November 8, 1945, was written, that was the so-called preliminary flash of the fact that there was a risk to the security of the country as indicated by information received by us from reliable informants. That was followed by two memorandums delivered on December 4, 1945, and February 4, 1946. As additional information came in during the subsequent months, that information was compiled in report or letter form and transmitted, as I have indicated in my statement, to the White House, to the Attorney General, and to the Treasury Department, about Harry Dexter White. That is our regular procedure.

Mr. MORRIS. And there is nothing more you can do, is that right?

Mr. HOOVER. There is nothing more I can do. All I can do is submit the information. We do not evaluate, we do not recommend. We do not reach any conclusions as to the information contained in the reports.

Mr. MORRIS. If you had made a public protest of any kind, you would have been clearly outside of the scope of your authority?

Mr. HOOVER. It would have been most presumptuous to make a public protest. I am merely a subordinate official of the Attorney General. I do not make the policy. I am advised of the policy to be followed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hoover, we have asked Mr. Brownell if he would supply us with certain information concerning some of the other individuals involved in our investigation, namely, Mr. Glasser, Mr. Coe, Mr. Victor Perlo, and several others. As far as you know, if we continue to bring forth into the record the various details on these people who have been exposed and who are some of the cases brought before the committee, there will be no violation of security arrangements as far as you know?

Mr. HOOVER. I would think there would be no violation of security arrangements so far as indicating to the committee the dissemination

of those reports. I would be very much opposed to the production of the actual report. I have always resisted that.

Mr. MORRIS. That is; as we have been doing?

Mr. HOOVER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions? Senator McClellan, any further questions?

Senator McCLELLAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. I have just one question.

Mr. Hoover, in your prepared statement you may remember at the top of page 8, as the copy was handed out, you said,

In fact, I took a strong stand because of premature disclosures that would result if prosecution were initiated, for the following reasons.

It occurs to me that there is a possible room for misunderstanding there, and I want to ask if this is a correct understanding of what you say. You took a strong stand in favor of ousting subversives from Government without waiting for a trial or for sufficient evidence to convict in court?

Mr. HOOVER. I was opposed, Mr. Sourwine, to the disclosure, either as new items—and there had been a number of leaks that had emanated from the Department of Justice and other agencies of the Government, upon cases in which we were then actively engaged. I also opposed the production in court at that time, or presentation to a grand jury, of some of this material, because of its highly confidential sources. Those sources could not be produced in court because of the nature of them. That is the position I took as to that. I never did at any time, and the records of the Bureau will conclusively sustain this statement, ever recommend to any agency of the Government or ask any agency of the Government to retain in its service any employee to aid the FBI in the conduct of any investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

If not, we thank you, Mr. Hoover, for appearing, and you are excused.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you very much, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. In its report on "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments," the subcommittee said this:

Almost all of the persons exposed by the evidence had some connection which could be documented with at least one—and generally several—other exposed persons. They used each other's names for reference on applications for Federal employment. They hired each other. They promoted each other. They raised each other's salaries. They transferred each other from bureau to bureau, from department to department, from congressional committee to congressional committee. They assigned each other to international missions. They vouched for each other's loyalty and protected each other when exposure threatened. They often had common living quarters. There was a group that played handball together. There was another group whose names appeared together in a telephone finder (p. 21, report).

Harry Dexter White was at the center of all this activity. His name was used for reference by other members of the ring, when they made applications for Federal employment. He hired them. He promoted them. He raised their salaries. He transferred them from bureau to bureau, from department to department. He assigned them to international missions. He vouched for their loyalty and protected them when exposure threatened. He played handball with them. His name

appeared, along with those of Frank Coe, Harold Glasser, Harry Magdoff, Lee Pressman, Abraham George Silverman, and William Ludwig Ullmann, in the telephone finder of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

All of these latter were named as participants in the Communist underground conspiracy in Government by either Elizabeth Bentley or Whittaker Chambers, or by both. All of them, save Pressman, invoked the fifth amendment, on grounds of self-incrimination, when asked on the witness stand about the Bentley-Chambers statements. Pressman acknowledged that he had been a Communist while serving in Government.

Here are White's own comments made when he appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities, August 13, 1948, about these and other persons accused of participation in the conspiracy.

Solomon Adler: "He has worked for me for some 10 years."

Frank Coe: "I tried to get him to leave his teaching and come to the Treasury when the war broke out * * * He happened to be my assistant * * * A very charming chap and a very fine chap * * * A man of fine character."

(Coe refused, on grounds of self-incrimination, to acknowledge all connections with White when he appeared before the subcommittee in New York City on October 24, 1952. He also refused on the same grounds to answer a question as to whether he is "presently engaged in subversive activities" (Hearings on Activities of United States Citizens Employed by the United Nations, p. 240).)

Lauchlin Currie: "I have known Lauchlin Currie for many years. He and I taught at Harvard together and were students there together."

Irving Kaplan: "We used to play ball."

(Kaplan also refused to acknowledge any connection with White, his former superior in the Treasury's Division of Monetary Research, when he appeared before the subcommittee. Like Coe, Kaplan said it might incriminate him to answer truly the question as to whether he was presently engaged in espionage against the United States (p. 12, Report on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments).)

Abraham George Silverman: "I asked his superior whether he could not release him for a couple of months to help us get started."

William H. Taylor: "Bill Taylor worked for us."

William L. Ullmann: "Ullmann I employed, knowing him myself."

Victor Perlo: "He was taken on (by the Division of Monetary Research) if I remember correctly, because they needed somebody to concentrate on the possibilities of boom and bust in the United States."

(As the report on "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments" points out on page 32, Perlo is "now an open propagandist for the Soviet world conspiracy." He invoked the fifth amendment on all questions concerning his participation in the conspiracy.)

Lee Pressman: "I know Lee Pressman well."

Alger and Donald Hiss: "I know them both."

Sonia Gold: "She worked for the Division for a while."

Harold Glasser: "Harold Glasser was employed in my division. * * * The FBI came to see me about him. I do not remember the year; must have been close to 1940. * * * They wanted to know whether he was—I imagine what they were attempting to ascertain was whether he was a Communist. * * * And their questions were in that direction, whether in my judgment he had done anything that could be regarded as disloyal or anything of that kind. I said no, that Glasser was and Glasser is an extremely competent and able economist, one that I was very proud to have in my service."

(In Glasser's testimony before the subcommittee, it was shown by documents that he had been repeatedly promoted, given salary raises, and "excellent" ratings by White. White also sent Glasser on International missions for the Treasury. Glasser refused to acknowledge any connection with White when he testified before the committee, on grounds of self-incrimination.)

Nathan Gregory Silvermaster: "I was in his home a number of times. * * * He visited in my home a number of times * * * It was either 1942 or 1943—I do not think it was as late as 1944; I think 1942 or 1943—Mr. Silvermaster spoke to me saying that he was being asked to resign from the Board of Economic Warfare on the ground that he was being accused of being a Communist; and he asked whether I could not be of some assistance to get his name cleared. He had never impressed me as a Communist; he was an able economist and interested in world affairs. We had many discussions.

"I said to him—well, I was a little taken aback, and I said, 'Well, are you a Communist.' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Well, what is there that you can give me or show me or what charges have been made? I cannot do anything for you unless I know something about your background, more than I did.' He said he would send me a copy of a reply which he made, I think, to the Civil Service Commission. I am not quite sure.

"He subsequently sent me a 10- or 20-page—It was a fairly long statement, in which there was, prefacing each paragraph, an allegation or a claim or a statement, apparently made by somebody, I would judge from the paper that he had access to the charge that was made. And then his reply was set up there.

"After reading the reply it convinced me of the integrity of the man and that he was not a Communist.

"I then went to Mr. Herbert Gaston, who was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and on the Loyalty Board, and a fairer and more conscientious man never served the Government, as anybody who knows or who happened to know Mr. Herbert Gaston would testify. I went to him and I said this man was being asked to resign from the Board—I think it was subsequent to that—and I said he was being asked to resign now. * * *"

(A short while after the events described here, White took Silvermaster with him to Bretton Woods, N. H., "to act as one of the technical secretaries to the United States delegation of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference" (hearings, p. 174.) Silvermaster has been repeatedly identified by Miss Bentley and others as a key figure in the Soviet underground apparatus almost since the days of the Russian Revolution. He pleaded self-incrimination to all questions about his conspiratorial activities.)

The subcommittee learned that the Federal Bureau of Investigation received derogatory security information concerning White—as well as Alger Hiss, Magdoff, Halperin, and Glasser, as long ago as 1941 and 1942. In 1945, Elizabeth Bentley told her story of the Communist underground in Government, with White as a key figure, to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Miss Bentley and Whittaker Chambers subsequently made repeated identifications of White as a Communist conspirator in many public hearings before this and other committees of Congress. Miss Bentley told the subcommittee that White was one of "our best avenues" for placing concealed Communists in strategic Government positions. She also told the subcommittee that White got secret information for transmittal to the Soviets from "at least 7 or 8 agencies" because he had persuaded Secretary Morgenthau to exchange this information (Rept., pp. 4 and 18).

White made a blanket denial of all connections with the Communist underground when he took the witness stand in 1948. A few days after his denial, White died. Subsequently, notes written in his own hand were found among the "pumpkin papers" which Chambers

produced to prove the assertion that they supplied him (Chambers) with stolen Government documents for transmittal to Moscow (IPR hearings, p. 5489 ff).

In his 11 years of Government employment, White rose from economic analyst in the Treasury at \$5,700 per annum to Assistant Secretary of the Treasury at \$9,000 (Government hearings, p. 947).

In 1945, White was nominated by the President of the United States for the newly created post of United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund (*ibid.*). The New York Times of April 9, 1947, reported that he had received this post, "as a reward for his work."

Here are some of the roles White played as a Government official :

On September 30, 1941, the Department of State chose White as chief of an economic mission to the Government of Cuba "in connection with monetary and banking questions" (hearings, p. 952).

On December 15, 1941, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, ordered him to "assume full responsibility for all matters with which the Treasury Department has to deal having a bearing on foreign relations" (report, p. 29).

On February 25, 1943, Secretary Morgenthau instructed White "to take supervision over and assume full responsibility for Treasury's participation in all economic and financial matters (except matters pertaining to depository facilities, transfer of funds and war expenditures) in connection with the operations of the Army and Navy and the civilian affairs in the foreign areas in which our Armed Forces are operating or are likely to operate. "This will, of course," wrote the Secretary, "include general liaison with the State Department, Army and Navy, and other departments or agencies and representatives of foreign governments on these matters" (report, p. 30).

He was also the official Treasury representative on the following interdepartmental and international bodies: The Interdepartmental Lend-Lease Committee; the Canadian-American Joint Economic Committee; the Executive Committee on Commercial Policy; the Executive Committee and Board of Trustees of the Export-Import Bank; the Interdepartmental Committee on Inter-American Affairs; the National Resources Committee; the Price Administration Committee; the Committee on Foreign Commerce Regulations; the Interdepartmental Committee on Post-War Economic Problems; the Committee on Trade Agreements; the National Munitions Control Board; the Acheson Committee on International Relief; the Board of Economic Warfare; the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy; the Liberation Areas Committee; the OSS Advisory Committee; the United States Commercial Corporation; the Interdepartmental Committee on Planning for Coordinating the Economic Activities of United States Civilian Agencies in Liberated Areas (report, p. 30).

When the Treasury sought a man to represent it as adviser to the United States delegation at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco, White was chosen.

Between 1935 and 1943, White made many trips abroad, in both hemispheres, on behalf of the United States Government. He went to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the British Isles, to north Africa and South Africa, to Cuba, Brazil, and Mexico.

In February and March of 1947, White visited Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile. He traveled as a representative of the International Monetary Fund, for the purpose of consultation on exchange practices with the various member countries.

On April 3, 1947, White appeared as United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund before the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate. The committee was inquiring "into the relationship of the trade agreements system and the proposed international organization charter."

The questioning related entirely to this subject. There was nothing in the record to indicate that any Senator had been apprised of the fact that White was a key figure in the Communist underground apparatus.

On November 12, 1953, the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency issued a statement with respect to the contents of the committee files relative to the nomination of Harry Dexter White, of Maryland, to be United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund.

The statement said:

A check has been made of all the committee files. There is no record that a hearing was held on the nomination or that the nominee appeared before the committee or that a biographical sketch was submitted on behalf of the nominee.

The nomination reference and report card in the committee files contains the following pencil notations: "OK Tydings" and "OK Radcliffe." This appears to be in line with the customary practice of senatorial committees to check with the home-state Senators of all nominees before taking action.

The CHAIRMAN. That concludes the making of our record for today. I believe the evidence and the testimony that we have heard here today will be of great benefit to this committee in its future work, which we intend to continue in the same careful manner in which this committee has been operating for the past 3 years.

So at this time, if there is no further business—

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I announce to the committee that tomorrow the committee plans to introduce into the record certain letters written by John Snyder, former Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Snyder has been asked if he will appear here tomorrow at 10:30 in executive session, and 11 o'clock in open session, to add any testimony of his to the letters as they go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. At this time we will stand adjourned until 10:30 tomorrow morning, when we will meet in executive session, followed by an open session at 11 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 4:46 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, November 18, 1953.)

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 11 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 318 Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner, Hendrickson, Butler of Maryland, and Johnston of South Carolina.

Present also: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, committee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Robert McManus, professional staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

This session was called, among other things, for the purpose of putting into the record certain correspondence from the former Secretary of the Treasury, John W. Snyder.

Mr. Snyder was not subpoenaed to be here today, but I did try to reach him at his home and office by phone yesterday in an effort to see if he could come before the subcommittee to see if he had some explanation of these very serious letters signed by him. I was unable to reach him by phone and I sent telegrams, both to his home and to his office. Late last evening I received this telegram, dated Toledo, Ohio, November 17, which I want to read into our record:

Your telegram received too late for me to arrange my affairs to permit me to accept your invitation to be present at 10:30 a. m. tomorrow at the executive session of your committee. In connection with your present hearings, however, I want you to point out that the record clearly shows that within approximately 18 months after I became head of the Treasury Department and its 116,000 employees, to the best of my knowledge all suspected subversives were separated from the Department and none have been found, so I am advised, in the Department since I left. I shall, of course, be happy to furnish your committee any facts in my possession which you desire and to answer any questions you or your committee may wish to ask me.

Signed "John W. Snyder."

Now, Mr. Morris, since Mr. Snyder is not here, I suggest that we go ahead and complete our record on these letters referred to.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I might say that some of these letters are in the record and others are not in the record. I would like at this time to read all the pertinent letters in order that they may appear at this point in the record of the hearings.

However, Mr. Chairman, I think at the very outset before reading the letters about Harold Glasser I would like also to put in the record the summary in our report on Harold Glasser so that the committee will understand very clearly the relations between these letters and Harold Glasser.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. In the July 30, 1953, report, this committee summarized the Harold Glasser case as follows:

The November, 1945, security memorandum made reference to Harold Glasser in 1945. It read:

Bentley advised that members of this [the Perlo] group had told her that Hiss, of the State Department, had taken Harold Glasser, of the Treasury Department, and two or three others, and had turned them over to direct control by the Soviet representatives in this country.

Our report reads:

When Miss Bentley appeared before the subcommittee in 1951 and 1952, she testified in greater detail about Glasser:

"Miss BENTLEY. In 1944 I took a group of people I called the Perlo group * * *. One of the members of this group was a Mr. Harold Glasser in the Treasury. In the process of checking everyone's past, I found that Mr. Glasser had, at one time, been pulled out of that particular group and had been turned over to a person whom both Mr. Perlo and Charles Kramer refused to tell me who it was, except that he was working for the Russians, and later they broke down and told me it was Alger Hiss" (I. P. R. hearings, pp. 441-442).

Now, Whittaker Chambers, testifying before the committee under oath, stated that he had met Harold Glasser.

In his book, *Witness*, published in 1952, Chambers writes:

Harry Dexter White was the least productive of the four original sources. Through George Silverman, he turned over material regularly, but not in great quantity. Bykov fumed—

I might mention for the benefit of the committee that Bykov is Colonel Bykov, who was the top man in the Soviet Military Intelligence in this country at that time—

but there was little that he could do about it. As a fellow traveler, White was not subject to discipline. Bykov suspected, of course, that White was holding back material. Bykov said, "You must control him"—in the sense in which police "control" passports, by inspecting them.

I went to J. Peters, who was in Washington constantly in 1937, and whom I also saw regularly in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was J. Peters?

Mr. MORRIS. J. Peters was one of Whittaker Chambers' superiors in the underground. I believe he was a Hungarian Communist.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing the reading):

I explained the problem to him and asked for a Communist in the Treasury Department who could "control" White. Peters suggested Dr. Harold Glasser, who certainly seemed an ideal man for the purpose, since he was White's assistant, one of several Communists whom White himself had guided into the Treasury Department.

Peters released Dr. Glasser from the American Communist underground and lent him to the Soviet underground. Glasser soon convinced me that White was turning over everything of importance that came into his hands. Having established that fact, I simply broke off relations with Dr. Glasser. Later on, he was to establish a curious link between the underground apparatuses, current and past. Testifying before the McCarran committee in 1952, Elizabeth Bentley told this story. In 1944, she was working with what she identified as the Perlo group (after Victor Perlo of the former Ware group). In the Perlo group was Dr. Harold Glasser. At one point Miss Bentley had made a routine check of

the past activities of all the group members. The check showed that Dr. Glasser had once worked with a man whom both Victor Perlo and Charles Kramer (also a member of the group) at first refused to identify beyond saying that the unknown man was working with the Russians * * *

Now, Mr. Chairman, the subcommittee's report continues as follows:

Glasser was subpoenaed by the subcommittee on April 14, 1953, and invoked his privilege against self-incrimination when asked about all of this evidence and information. He also refused under privilege to tell the subcommittee the circumstances surrounding his Government assignments within the United States or abroad.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the letters I am referring to are as follows:

The first is dated August 22, 1946. It is a letter from John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, to Mr. Harold Glasser, Assistant Director of the Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. MORRIS. August 22, 1946, Mr. Chairman.

The letter reads as follows:

SIR: You are hereby appointed Director of Monetary Research with compensation at the rate of \$10,000 per annum, payable from the appropriation "exchange stabilization fund" effective today.

Very truly yours,

JOHN W. SNYDER,
Secretary of the Treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. I think our record should show when Mr. Snyder became Secretary of the Treasury. Do we have that information?

Mr. MORRIS. The best information I have, Mr. Chairman, is that he became Secretary of the Treasury in June 1946. I do not know the exact date. I had intended to ask him here today, but as you know, he is not here.

Mr. Hoover stated yesterday on the stand that from November 8, 1945, until July 24, 1946—

during that same period 2 summaries on Soviet espionage activities went to the Treasury Department and 6 summaries went to the Attorney General on the same subject matter.

This is dated August 22, 1946, and is subsequent to the date the summaries mentioned by Mr. Hoover were transmitted to the Treasury Department.

Mr. Chairman, the next letter is dated December 23, 1947. It is written by Harold Glasser to the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, and reads as follows:

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It is with the deepest regret that I find it necessary to submit my resignation from the Treasury Department to be effective December 31, 1947.

The CHAIRMAN. When did these reports go to the Treasury Department on these men?

Mr. MORRIS. According to Mr. Hoover, they were in the period November 8, 1945, to July 24, 1946.

The CHAIRMAN. And this letter is in 1947?

Mr. MORRIS. This letter is in 1947. In the meantime, Mr. Chairman, according to Mr. Brownell's summary yesterday, in July 1946, Glasser attended the UNRRA conference in Geneva, Switzerland, as a member of the United States delegation. In January 1947, Glasser went to Trieste as a member of the American delegation to the four-power study of the economy of Trieste. At the special request of the State

Department in March and April of 1947. Glasser attended the Moscow meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers as an adviser to the United States Secretary of State, which the record at that time showed was General Marshall.

This letter, as I stated before, is dated December 23, 1947, and I continue to quote from it:

The Treasury Department has given me extraordinary opportunities during the past 11 years for the development of my professional skill, for experiences with all parts of the world, and for participation in the solving of important problems of the war and postwar period. I owe more to the Treasury than I can possibly say in a letter of resignation. To you particularly, Mr. Secretary, I am grateful for the friendship and guidance you have so kindly given to me. As I enter private employment, I can only hope my activities will be a credit to the Treasury Department and justify the confidence you and the Department have placed in me.

Respectfully,

HAROLD GLASSER,
Assistant Director, Office of International Finance.

On December 26, 1947, Mr. Snyder wrote to Mr. Harold Glasser as follows:

DEAR MR. GLASSER: It is with regret that I am accepting your resignation as Assistant Director of the Office of International Finance to be effective December 31, 1947.

You have been associated with the Treasury for a long period of time, and I am fully aware of the many valuable contributions you have made in the monetary field. It is gratifying to know that your Treasury experience has been pleasant and interesting, and I am sorry that circumstances have led you to seek connections outside of the Government. I wish to assure you that we will miss the fine work that you have done here.

Best wishes for happiness and success in your new work.

Sincerely,

JOHN W. SNYDER,
Secretary of the Treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. At this time, where was Glasser employed?

Mr. MORRIS. As Mr. Snyder points out there, he is accepting his resignation as Assistant Director of the Office of International Finance in the Treasury Department.

On December 26, 1947, John W. Snyder wrote to Mr. H. L. Lurie, who was the executive director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Inc., New York 19, N. Y.:

DEAR MR. LURIE: I am very glad to give you my opinion of Mr. Harold Glasser's technical ability, personality, and analytical qualities, as requested in your letter of December 18.

Glasser's technical ability and analytical capacity are of a very high order. He is a well-trained economist, and during many years of intensive work in the field of general economic policy he has acquired an unusual ability to apply a highly developed analytical technique to the solution of economic problems. He has held very responsible positions in the Treasury, as you know, and has also been assigned to important overseas missions. We have relied heavily on his judgment, his estimate of situations, and his recommendations, and I regret that his decision to leave the Government service is depriving us of him.

I do not believe I need say very much to you about Mr. Glasser's personality, since you have already met and talked with him. He had no hidden facets to his personal qualities which you would discover only after longer association with him. He served as Secretary of the National Advisory Council and as chairman of its staff committee. These were exacting assignments calling for skill in interdepartmental relationships. I felt that Glasser was successful in this phase of his work.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. SNYDER,
Secretary of the Treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet these reports that you have referred to were in the hands of the Treasury at the time this letter was written?

Mr. MORRIS. According to Mr. Hoover, yes.

Now, Mr. Chairman, a lapse takes place here of about 8 months. The next letter is from H. L. Lurie, the executive director of the fund I just described. In the meantime, Elizabeth Bentley has testified publicly before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and, as we have seen in our record, the testimony she gave there in open session was similar to the information she had given to the FBI some years before.

Mr. Lurie writes to Mr. Snyder on August 3, 1948, as follows:

DEAR MR. SNYDER: You were kind enough on December 26, 1947, to reply to our letter asking for reference on Mr. Harold Glasser. We engaged Mr. Glasser as the Director of our Institute on Overseas Studies beginning in January 1948 and he has continued to fill that position most competently and effectively. We have been more than pleased by his performance, his broad understanding and his competence both for the analysis of problems and for his relationships with the organizations and persons with whom he deals.

The information recently given by Miss Bentley to the Senate committee has been very disturbing. I have been informed that the charges made as they relate to Mr. Glasser are not new and that Miss Bentley had previously offered them to various bureaus of the Government. I understand also that Mr. Glasser was thoroughly investigated as a security risk while he was serving in the United States Treasury. It would be very helpful to us at this time if we could receive an additional statement from you bearing upon this aspect of Mr. Glasser's career in Government service.

Sincerely yours,

H. L. LURIE,
Executive Director.

Mr. Snyder answered that letter on August 10, 1948, 7 days later. He said:

Mr. H. L. LURIE,
*Executive Director, Council of Jewish Federations
and Welfare Funds, Inc.,
New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. LURIE: I wish to acknowledge your letter of August 3, 1948, with reference to my letter of December 26, 1947, regarding Mr. Harold Glasser, a former official of the Treasury Department.

No information regarding Mr. Glasser has been called to our attention that had not previously been considered by the Department prior to my letter to you of December 26, 1947, and all I can do at this time is reaffirm the appraisal I made of him in my earlier letter.

I am very glad to learn that Mr. Glasser's services have proven so satisfactory to the council and that he is rendering for you the same high type of work he performed for the Treasury.

Sincerely,

JOHN W. SNYDER,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Chairman, there is one other letter that was in the record at the time. I would like to reintroduce it at this time because it bears directly on this matter. On December 23, 1947, Dean Acheson wrote to Mr. H. L. Lurie, as follows:

Mr. H. L. LURIE,
*Executive Director,
Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Inc.,
New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. LURIE: I knew Mr. Harold Glasser during my 7 years in the State Department as Assistant Secretary and Under Secretary. We worked together on the problem of foreign-funds control and other economic warfare matters, and he was a member of the United States delegations, of which I was Chair-

man, to the First and Second UNRRA Council meetings. During these Council meetings I was impressed with his technical competence and his ability to work under the strain of long hours and difficult negotiations, carrying a large part of the burden of the Financial Committee of the Council. He was a good working companion, maintaining an extraordinary evenness of temper and good humor, under what were sometimes very trying circumstances. I am sure that he is able to approach problems in a well-organized and analytical manner and that you will find him a first-rate economist.

Sincerely,

DEAN ACHESON.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as you know, the committee has asked Mr. Brownell if he would supply us with a summary of the FBI report on Harold Glasser and tell us with particularity when and to whom those FBI security reports were distributed in the executive branch of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. I think our record is complete on that.

Mr. MORRIS. The next case, Mr. Chairman, will be that of Frank Coe.

VIRGINIUS FRANK COE

The Berle memorandum of 1939 contains the names of Frank Coe and his brother, Charles (Bob) Coe. In 1948, Miss Bentley publicly brought forth in testimony that Frank Coe was a member of her espionage ring. Yet, when the subcommittee subpoenaed Coe in December 1952, he held the position of Secretary of the International Monetary Fund at \$20,000 a year.

Virginius Frank Coe first worked for the United States Government in 1934. Since then he has held positions in Federal Security Administration, the National Advisory Defense Council, Monetary Research Division of the Treasury Department (Assistant Director and Director), Joint War Production Committee of the United States and Canada (Executive Secretary), Board of Economic Warfare (assistant to the Executive Director), Foreign Economic Administration (Assistant Administrator). He was the Technical Secretary of the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in 1944 when the articles of agreement were drafted setting up the International Monetary Fund. The International Monetary Fund handles assets of between \$7 and \$8 billion and it is a specialized agency of the United Nations.

Coe refused to answer, on the ground that the answers might incriminate him, all questions as to whether he was a Communist, whether he had engaged in subversive activities, or whether he was presently a member of a Soviet espionage ring. He refused for the same reason to say whether he was a member of an espionage ring while technical secretary of the Bretton Woods Conference, whether he ever had had access to confidential Government information or security information, whether he had been associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations, or with individuals named on a long list of people associated with the organization. He testified as to how he got his first Government employment, but refused to say how he obtained his subsequent positions. Coe was dismissed by the International Monetary Fund a few days after his testimony on December 3, 1952.

Mr. Chairman, we have asked Mr. Brownell if he would supply this committee with a summary of the FBI report and the dates and particulars as to when and to whom the various FBI reports on Coe were sent to in the executive branch of the Government.

Senator JOHNSTON. May I ask one question in regard to these letters, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnston.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you have the original letters? As you know, that is the best evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. The original letters?

Senator JOHNSTON. Yes. In other words, if somebody should raise that question later——

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, we had hoped that Mr. Snyder would be here today and acknowledge the letters. As I say, he could give any explanation he may have of the letters. We have taken the letters from the official Government files.

The CHAIRMAN. These are not necessarily the original letters, but from the official Government files.

Senator JOHNSTON. I am quite sure that the Chairman realizes that if they pin us down on the best evidence rule we would have to produce the originals.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we are not a court of law and that is why we asked Mr. Snyder to be here today to explain, affirm, or deny.

Mr. MORRIS. The third case we have taken up with the Department of Justice is the case of Victor Perlo.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to know where former Attorney General Clark fits into this picture, and whether or not you have any plans in connection with Justice Clark.

The CHAIRMAN. I can answer that question in this way to you, Senator Butler, and the other members of the committee: This committee proceeds in a very careful manner. We are not interested in the political byplay. We are only interested in facts, the truth. I have conferred with Mr. Morris and our staff on this particular matter, and I believe that until we get these reports which we have asked for from Attorney General Brownell that we are not ready yet to go into the Clark angle of this case. We are not closing any doors, and we intend to bring out all the evidence and place it in the record concerning this matter.

Senator BUTLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, as I have stated, the other case is the case of Victor Perlo. Miss Bentley had told the FBI in November 1945, that he was the head of one espionage ring. She testified to that publicly in 1948.

Whittaker Chambers has testified that Victor Perlo was a member of the original Harold Ware cell of the Communist Party in the 1930's. Nathaniel Weyl, who was also a member of that cell, has testified that Victor Perlo was in fact a member of the Communist underground.

When Victor Perlo was subpoenaed before this committee, he invoked his privilege under the fifth amendment in response to all of the evidence that the committee confronted him with at that time. I have here a short sketch of Mr. Perlo's career in Government. It appears at page 394 of our hearings. It reads as follows:

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out here that all during this period Mr. Perlo's salary is increasing. When he entered the Government with the NRA, his salary, according to this, was \$2,300. He got a promotion to \$2,600 3 months after he went there. With HOLC, he was getting \$2,600, associate economic analyst, after promotion \$2,800, after another promotion, \$3,100. When he was an expert with the Department of Commerce he was getting \$4,000 and it is now 1939. When he was a senior agent in the Commerce Department, foreign and domestic commerce branch, he was drawing \$4,600. Then as principal economic analyst for the Council of National Defense Advisory Committee he was drawing \$5,600; head economist for the Office of Price Administration, \$6,500; and in this last assignment that we have been talking about his salary is \$6,500.

Yesterday Mr. Brownell mentioned, and I quote:

How was Glasser's access to classified materials limited? As far as we have been able to determine, it was not. Records in the Department indicate that late in 1946 Glasser, described as a member of the espionage ring, received a copy of the FBI report on Victor Perlo which described him as a member of the Soviet espionage ring. Perlo stayed on in the Treasury Department until March 27, 1947, and then left to accept the post of Treasurer of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Snyder's telegram is not exactly accurate in the fact that there were no subversives in the Treasury Department after he became Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. MORRIS. He did mention a limited period there. I think he mentioned a period of 18 months.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to call him in at some later time to get this matter straightened out.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with that, Mr. Chairman, I would like to present to the committee what I think is a very important case and yet we have not made that one of our conclusive cases. In view of the importance of the position that the man held, I think the committee at least should have a summary of the case of Solomon Adler.

When Whittaker Chambers testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee on May 24, 1951, the question put to him was:

Mr. MORRIS. In the course of that experience, Mr. Chambers, did you ever hear about or encounter one Solomon or Sholem Adler?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Jay Peters, who was the head of the underground section of the American Communist Party, told me, I believe in 1937, that an employee of the United States Treasury whom he called Scholma, which I presume is spelled S-c-h-o-l-m-a, Adler, was sending a weekly report to the American Communist Party. Scholma is a Jewish diminutive for the name Solomon.

Miss Bentley testified before this committee during the hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations in the year 1951. The question put to Miss Bentley was:

Mr. MORRIS. Miss Bentley, do you know Sol Adler?

Miss BENTLEY. Not personally; no.

Mr. MORRIS. Miss Bentley, did you know about Sol Adler?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. Solomon Adler was, again, a member of the Silvermaster group. He paid his dues through Mr. Silvermaster to me. Most of the time I was in charge of that group he was over in China. But he did send reports to various people, including Harry Dexter White in the Treasury Department, which were relayed on to us.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what were the natures of those reports, Miss Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. Reports on internal Chinese politics, mainly, as to what the Nationalists were doing and what the chances were for the Eighth Army people and the Communists in China.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his Communist assignment in China? Can you tell us a little bit about that, Miss Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. When he went over there, he was told—that was before my day so I didn't participate in it—he was told that he should follow the party line in China, and carry out to the utmost whatever Moscow wanted in the Far East. Senator EASTLAND. Who was that?

Mr. MORRIS. This is Sol Adler, Senator, who was one of the high officials in the Treasury Department, and who was in charge of the Treasury Department for China.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you can tell us something more about Solomon Adler, Miss Bentley? Anything more about Solomon Adler that you can tell us would be helpful.

Miss BENTLEY. In what respect?

Mr. MORRIS. About his connection with the organization.

Miss BENTLEY. I understand that he had been connected with the organization for a few years before I came along.

He not only was connected with the Silvermaster organization, but he had Communist contacts within China. One of those was Chi.

Mr. Chairman, I will explain who he is later. I think those who were members of the subcommittee when it was holding hearings with respect to the Institute of Pacific Relations will recall that Dr. Ch'ao Ting Chi was one of the important Communist agents operating in the United States. He is now an official of the Chinese Communist Government.

Now, to continue with the quotations from the testimony of Miss Bentley, Mr. Chairman.

I have forgotten his first name.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Ch'ao Ting Chi?

Miss BENTLEY. He was the man proposed to be the Chinese delegate to the United Nations. Is that the same one?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

Miss BENTLEY. Well, he had dealings with him, both in this country and in China, and with numerous others of the Communists in China, although he was supposed to cultivate the Nationalists on behalf of our own Government, and also to forward the Communist plan.

He was really quite friendly, for example, with Madame Chiang Kai-shek. I remember one report that came through on Adler at one time that complained that he was not tending to business and influencing the quarters he should be. He was playing too much bridge with Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Mr. Chairman, all during 1951 and 1952, because of the impressive testimony from both Mr. Chambers and Miss Bentley, together with other information that we had in our files, we made an effort to subpoena Mr. Adler. However, he was out of the country all during that period 1951 and 1952.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he an American citizen?

Mr. MORRIS. He was a naturalized American citizen. I understand he was born in the British Isles and became a naturalized American citizen just shortly before or shortly after he became employed by the United States Government.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has he been out of the country?

Mr. MORRIS. All during this period of time we were in contact with the Passport Division of the State Department. We knew he was out of the country and we felt that was the best place of trying to determine whether or not he was returning.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Has the State Department picked up his passport?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, as a naturalized American citizen who has been out of the country for a period of 3 years. We were told that his passport expired on May 9, 1952; it had been issued on May 9, 1950. The extension was not granted and the Embassy was instructed to take up his passport and he has not applied for an extension.

He is, I believe, Senator, subject to denaturalization proceedings. But inasmuch as he was, as I say, an important Treasury official right up until May 11, 1950, and in fact he was our Treasury representative in China and he was there all during the critical years, there were many questions we would have liked to ask Mr. Adler. I would like to sketch here, and this is something we have not been doing, the nature of the evidence we want to ask him about if he can come before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You know it is the policy of this committee before we bring out evidence to give a man a chance to come before this committee in private executive session before he is called in open session. This is a departure from that policy by this committee, but I think the departure is warranted because this man is out of the country and, as the record shows, the Passport Division of the State Department indicates that he has been out of the country long enough so that even his passport has been picked up and he is subject to being denaturalized as an American citizen.

So, if there is no objection, we will make the departure from our policy and we will receive this evidence on Solomon Adler.

Senator HENDRICKSON. With the understanding that we are not establishing a precedent.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say that here is a man we cannot get before our committee by subpoena in executive private session. He has been out of the country for almost 3 years. Is there any objection, Senator Butler?

Senator BUTLER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection, Senator Hendrickson?

Senator HENDRICKSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection, Senator Johnston?

Senator JOHNSTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. The evidence of his connections with the Communist organization I have stated. Some of the other facts I think should be in the record at this time because of the importance of this particular case. It seems that on May 11, 1950, he resigned for personal reasons from the Treasury Department after several clearances on loyalty.

The CHAIRMAN. After several clearances on loyalty?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir. The records seem to show from the best efforts we have been able to put together on this, that he was employed in the Treasury Department in December 1936, in the Division of Monetary Research under William L. Ullmann and Harry Dexter White. As you know, Ullmann was Silvermaster's assistant in the espionage ring. It is apparent that he came from England in 1933 where his Russian parents lived. In February 1943 he was appointed an alternate American member of the Chinese Stabilization Board in Chungking. In 1941, he was the Treasury adviser to Emanuel Fox of that Board. In July 1944 the Department of State informed Adler he was designated as Treasury attaché to the American Embassy at Chungking. In 1945, he became representative of the Secretary of the Treasury in China and the Far East in general in monetary matters.

The records show here, and this is something that we have to establish, that he was sent to China under the direct authorization of Harry Dexter White.

A United States State Department official, one of the high American officials in China, has informed the security authorities—in other words, during the course of an investigation of Adler there were many interviews. I think, in fairness to the individuals interviewed at that time, I will give a description of who they were rather than saying who they are. I do that, Senator, so that you will just get a general picture of what Mr. Adler's role was in China at that time.

This one State Department official in Nanking with General Marshall from May 1946 to July 1947 stated that Adler was intimately connected with the political discussions held at that time as his knowledge of Chinese affairs, financial and otherwise, was extensive and accurate.

Another high State Department official said that Adler's "ideological approach to Chinese problems was very realistic in that he was critical of various phases of the national government but was sympathetic toward China generally." This State Department official felt these views coincided with those of other informed persons. Adler was fairly close to J. Franklin Ray of the office of Far Eastern Affairs, and acquainted with a certain Chinese who heads the present (1948) Chinese technical mission in Washington.

Senator JOHNSTON. What was the date of that report?

Mr. MORRIS. This is a summary of the loyalty files on Adler, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. What is the date of that report?

Mr. MORRIS. It was some time after May 11, 1950. I do not have the date.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, one other person, I think, we should mention, inasmuch as his name came up, is this Dr. Ch'ao-Ting Chi. In our Institute of Pacific Relations hearings we pointed out that Ch'ao-Ting Chi, who had been an employee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, was made secretary general of the American, British, Chinese currency stabilization fund. As I have stated, Chi was a Communist underground agent operating in the United States and is now an official of the Chinese Communist Government. The report I read showed that Mr. Adler became a member of that Board when Chi was the Secretary General of that Board.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to put in our record the following:

The following analysis will show the concentration of members of the underground ring of the Communist Party in the Treasury Department and particularly in the Division of Monetary Research.

Harry Dexter White became the first Director of the Division of Monetary Research in the Treasury when it was first established. The others who succeeded him as Director were Frank Coe and Harold Glasser. Irving Kaplan was Assistant Director. William Ludwig Ullmann, Victor Perlo, Mrs. Bela Gold, and Irving S. Friedman were also attached to the Division of Monetary Research when it was under the direction of White, Coe, and Glasser.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I correct the record of yesterday?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Bela Gold and her husband have not been called before this committee in this present series of hearings and have not invoked their privilege under the fifth amendment as was indicated yesterday. We have not yet gotten around to calling the Golds.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

White, Gold, Glasser, Kaplan, Perlo, and Mrs. Gold were identified in sworn testimony as participants in the Communist conspiracy. Coe, Glasser, Kaplan, and Perlo invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about their participation. White denied but was later proven to be implicated when his handwritten notes were found among the Chambers' pumpkin papers.

In Attorney General Brownell's summary of the second FBI report, he said, "The report mentions that White was interviewed by the FBI in connection with the Amerasia case, particularly concerning Irving S. Friedman, who, according to the report, was known to be one of the sources in the Treasury De-

partment's Section on Far Eastern Affairs that had been furnishing documents to Phillip Jacob Jaffe, editor of *Amerasia*. White told the FBI that Friedman was an employee in the Treasury Department handling matters dealing with monetary affairs in the Far East and admitted that he had brought Friedman to the Treasury Department 5 or 6 years earlier.

"It should also be recalled that Solomon Adler represented the Treasury Department in China and that Nathan Gregory Silvermaster was taken to the Bretton Woods Conference founding the International Monetary Fund by Harry Dexter White."

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like also to put into the record at this time a copy of the letter that you addressed to Mr. Brownell on November 13, 1953, where you asked for the information about the records of Harold Glasser and Virginus Frank Coe.

The CHAIRMAN. We also asked him publicly yesterday about the Victor Perlo records.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

(The letter is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 13, 1953.

HON. HERBERT BROWNELL,

Attorney General of the United States,

Department of Justice, Washington 25, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNELL: In pursuance to recent conversations of the last few days between our subcommittee and your deputy, Mr. William P. Rogers, I am enclosing herewith a digest of the cases of Harold Glasser and Virginus Frank Coe.¹

You will note that evidence in both cases is impressive and that they held high positions in Government well after 1945. Would you please let us know when the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the department of Justice, in reference to these two individuals, were transmitted to the White House, to the Treasury Department, and other high officials of the Government?

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. JENNER,

Internal Security Subcommittee.

Mr. MORRIS. In view of what we know about Mr. Adler, would you also ask if they could supply us any information about Solomon Adler?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we want a complete picture.

Mr. MORRIS. The other letter I want to offer for the record is a letter that you wrote to the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, asking that Igor Gouzenko be made available to this committee for questioning.

As you know, the State Department had turned us down.

The CHAIRMAN. I think for the benefit of the members of the committee, you ought to explain what has happened on that so they will be appraised of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Gouzenko, Senators, is desired for questioning because we noticed that time and time again there is a reference in the various security documents which have come into our possession, to what Gouzenko has told the FBI about American espionage. He mentioned at one time specifically that an assistant in the office of the then Secretary of State Stettinius was a Soviet agent. The FBI had related that testimony to testimony about Alger Hiss. In addition, he has told about the atomic espionage rings that operated in the United States. All in all there was a great deal of reason or much

¹ Enclosure (pp. 6 and 7, Report of the Internal Security Subcommittee on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments).

reason for us to conclude that Gouzenko could give valuable testimony to this committee about American espionage which is directly under the consideration of this committee.

Now, at staff level, after Mr. Gouzenko had publicly stated in the American press—I think he gave an interview to a representative of the Chicago Tribune—he was quoted by that newspaper as saying he would be willing to talk to Senator Jenner's committee or Senator McCarthy's committee. After we read that in the newspaper, we then made a formal request at staff level that Mr. Gouzenko be made available to us for questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. You might explain that we went through channels to our Secretary of State and asked him to request that Gouzenko be made available.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. The Canadian Government told us that everything that Gouzenko knew about American espionage was in the Royal Commission Report.

The CHAIRMAN. The Canadian Government, in reply to Secretary Dulles' request that he be made available as a witness to this committee, stated in their reply to Dulles—you may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. That everything he knew appeared in the Royal Canadian Summary of Espionage in Canada. In our reply we pointed out to the Canadians that we did have evidence in our record that was not in that report and we had every reason to believe that Gouzenko knew other things that we did not know. So, on the basis of all of that information, on November 13, 1953, Senator Jenner addressed a letter to the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, in which he said:

DEAR SECRETARY: I am enclosing an exchange of correspondence which reflects that Mr. Robert Morris, chief counsel for the Internal Security Subcommittee, acting through your office, endeavored to interview Mr. Igor Gouzenko, former Soviet Code Clerk in Ottawa, now believed to be in the custody of the Canadian Government. Your department transmitted Mr. Morris' request to the Canadian Ambassador who, after notifying his Government, in turn, informed us of the Canadian Government's unwillingness to make Mr. Gouzenko available to the subcommittee for questioning either in Canada or in the United States.

You will note from the attached correspondence that there are certain facts on espionage in the United States now in the record of the Internal Security Subcommittee which do not appear in the report of the Canadian Royal Commission. In view of the discrepancy between this and the last sentence of paragraph 2 of the Canadian reply, I submit to you that it would be in the best interest to ask the Canadian Government to reconsider its decision in this matter and allow Mr. Gouzenko to be made available to this subcommittee.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. JENNER.

The CHAIRMAN. I want the members of the committee to know that I intend to call Mr. Dulles today to see what has been done.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Has there been a reply to that letter as yet?

The CHAIRMAN. I have heard nothing.

Since Mr. Snyder did not appear this morning, we have made the record on these other matters, and this committee will now adjourn and reconvene next Monday at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. We hope at that time this committee will have the information that we have requested from the Attorney General.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a. m., the hearing was recessed until 2 p. m., Monday, November 23, 1953.)

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 2:15 p. m., pursuant to recess, in the Old Supreme Court room, the Capitol, Senator John Marshall Butler, presiding.

Present also: Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; Benjamin Mandell, research director.

Senator BUTLER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Morris, will you please proceed?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in connection with the meeting today, this committee has asked the Attorney General to supply information on the dissemination of security reports on the following: Harold Glasser, Frank Coe, Victor Perlo, and Solomon Adler.

I am prepared, Mr. Chairman, today, to read a letter from the Attorney General, at least from the Attorney General's Office, on the dissemination of security reports on Harold Glasser.

Senator BUTLER. Will please proceed, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. We have been promised that the documentary records of Mr. Coe, Mr. Adler, and Mr. Perlo will be forthcoming, but they are not complete enough for me to report on today, sir.

This relates to dissemination of the letter of November 8, 1945, the report of November 27, 1945, and memorandum of February 1, 1946. That is the preface, Mr. Chairman.

The letter addressed to General Vaughan by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on November 8, 1945, set forth in the testimony of the Attorney General to the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on November 17, 1953, was not given any further dissemination by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The report of November 27, 1945, by the Federal Bureau of Investigation entitled "Summary of Soviet Espionage in the United States," to which the Attorney General also referred in the same testimony, was disseminated on December 4, 1945, to Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, then military aide to the President; James F. Byrnes, then Secretary of State; Tom Clark, then Attorney General. On December 7, 1945, copies were also sent to James V. Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy; Spruille Braden, then Assistant Secretary of State. Copies of the report bearing the date of December 12, 1945, were furnished to Adm. William D. Leahy, then Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the White House, on February 20, 1946; Lt. Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, then Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, War Department, on February 26, 1946; Fred M. Vinson, then Secretary of the Treasury, on March 5, 1946; Fred Lyon, then Chief, Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, Department of State, on March 15, 1946; and to the then Attorney General, Tom Clark, on July 24, 1946.

Copies of the memorandum of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of February 1, 1946, on Harry Dexter White, were delivered on February 4, 1946, to Brigadier General Vaughan for the information of the President, and to Mr. Frederick B. Lyon, Division of Controls, Department of State, for the immediate attention of Mr. James Byrnes, Secretary of State. A copy of this memorandum was sent to Attorney General Clark on February 6, 1946.

The report of November 27, 1945, to which the Attorney General referred in his testimony of November 17, 1953, contains references to Solomon Adler, Harold Glasser, and Victor Perlo. Dissemination of this report has been separately indicated.

The data regarding the dissemination of reports mentioned herein were furnished to the Attorney General by the Federal Bureau of Investigation by memorandum dated August 4, 1948. The FBI has been requested to furnish any dissemination additional to the foregoing which may be contained in its records and these will be furnished to your committee as soon as received from the Bureau.

Mr. Chairman, that would show that the dissemination of the report of November 27, which contained the name of Harold Glasser, was furnished to officials in the State Department and the Secretary of the Treasury. And you will notice that Mr. Glasser was promoted subsequent to the time of this report, and in addition he was recommended by the State Department to accompany Secretary of State Marshall to attend the Foreign Ministers Council conference in Moscow in 1947.

Now, continuing on Harold Glasser, there was a summary dated February 21, 1946, which mentioned Glasser, which was furnished by letter of February 25, 1946, to General Vaughan.

There was also a memorandum dated March 5, 1946, containing information regarding Glasser, and that was furnished to Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief, on March 7, 1946.

There was a summary dated February 6, 1946, containing reference to Glasser furnished to the Attorney General on February 7, 1946.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, mentioning Glasser was furnished to the Attorney General on February 23, 1946.

Summary dated March 5, 1946, mentioning Glasser was furnished to the Attorney General on March 7, 1946.

Summary dated July 25, 1946, containing information on Glasser was furnished to the Attorney General on the same date pursuant to a request of the Attorney General by Mr. Clark M. Clifford. Departmental file shows transmittal of summary to Mr. Clifford on July 25, 1946.

Summary dated October 21, 1946, containing information on Glasser was made available by letter of December 16, 1946, to Mr. George Allen.

Summary dated October 21, 1946, containing information on Glasser was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum of November 27, 1946, and to Special Assistant to the Attorney General A. D. Vanech by memorandum of December 6, 1946, and two copies to Assistant Attorney General T. V. Quinn by memorandum dated July 23, 1947. One copy was personally transmitted to Mr. Quinn on August 7, 1947.

A summary concerning Glasser's activities was furnished on March 6, 1947, to the Attorney General.

A summary dated February 21, 1946, containing reference to Glasser was furnished by letter of March 4, 1946, to the Secretary of the Treasury.

And, Mr. Chairman, I will endeavor to have the information on the other three individuals, namely, Coe, Perlo, and Adler, before this subcommittee at the next meeting.

Senator BUTLER. The record will be held open for that purpose.

Mr. MORRIS. And I would like to introduce into the record a letter which Senator Jenner sent to the Honorable John Foster Dulles on November 21, 1953.

Senator BUTLER. The letter will be received and made a part of the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 21, 1953.

HON. JOHN FOSTER DULLES,

Secretary, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am forwarding to you the enclosed authenticated copy of a signed statement by Igor Gouzenko which I ask that you transmit to the Canadian Government in support of my previously relayed request that Mr. Gouzenko be made available to the Internal Security Subcommittee for questioning.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. JENNER.

Mr. MORRIS. And I would like to put in a photostatic copy of a statement by Igor Gouzenko, dated November 20, 1953, which has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for transmission to the Government of Canada.

Senator BUTLER. The statement will be received and made a part of the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 20, 1953.

STATEMENT BY IGOR GOUZENKO

I read in the official report of the House of Commons Debates of November 17, of the Honorable L. B. Pearson regarding my interview to Mr. Griffin of the Chicago Tribune.

I read, too, the original story of Mr. Griffin in the Chicago Tribune. I must say that Mr. Griffin did not misquote me.

It is clear from the interview that if Senator McCarthy or Senator Jenner thought that I might help them, I would be glad to see either of them and that I thought a talk with them would be worth while. I still think so.

I also stressed that such a meeting should take place in Canada for security reasons. That was also accurately reported by Mr. Griffin. On no occasion did I ever say that I had new information which I did not already give to the Canadian Government, and Mr. Griffin did not say that I had.

I believe a meeting would be useful since I can give advice which, if properly put into effect, would have good chances of bringing exposure of present Soviet spy rings in the United States in comparatively short time.

That, of course, would be of great help to Canada, too. That advice I gave already to the Canadian Government, during my first days under protection of the Canadian Government, but I am most sorry to say that it was ignored.

Serious and energetic adoption of this advice many years ago might have had important results by now. However, it is never too late.

I can add now that I cannot see the reasons why United States officials could not come here and interview me. Anything that might be of help to a friendly nation to clean up the common enemy conspiracy must never be obstructed.

It appears that Mr. Pearson was ill advised and acted in such haste that he even neglected to read the original interview upon which he based his not correct statement in Parliament.

(Signed) IGOR GOUZENKO.

Senator BUTLER. Is there any further business?

Mr. MORRIS. There is no further business, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BUTLER. The subcommittee will stand in adjournment to Wednesday of next week at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 2:25 p. m., the hearing was recessed until Wednesday, December 2, 1953, at 10:30 a. m.)

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACTS, AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 11:15 a. m., pursuant to notice, in the Old Supreme Court Room, the Capitol, Senator William E Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner, Watkins, Hendrickson, Welker, Butler of Maryland, and Johnston of South Carolina.

Present also: Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; Robert McManus and William E. Lowell; professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, since the last session of this committee there has been an exchange of notes between the chairman of this committee and the Secretary of State.

On November 25, 1953, the chairman of this committee wrote to the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary, Department of State, Washington 25:

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The offer of the Canadian Government with respect to our request to question Igor Gouzenko would be satisfactory if a member of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate could interview Mr. Gouzenko under Canadian auspices to determine what he knows about espionage in the United States. Once having determined what he knows, the subcommittee would then like to address itself to what should be done about the evidence or information at this time.

I feel that the Internal Security Subcommittee could not receive evidence vital to the security of the United States, and the United States alone, and commit itself not to make it available to Congress, if necessary.

At the same time, if there is reason to keep the evidence secret the subcommittee will use the same discretion it always has in these matters affecting security and comity between nations. On behalf of the Internal Security Subcommittee, I would like to express the appreciation of the subcommittee for your cooperation in these matters.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. JENNER,
Chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee.

On November 28, 1953, this office received late in the afternoon—it was a Saturday afternoon—we received from the Secretary of State:

I have your letter of November 25, with reference to the Gouzenko matter. I am glad to note that the November 25 response of the Canadian Government

to our note of November 19, 1953, is satisfactory to you if a member of your subcommittee can interview Mr. Gouzenko under Canadian auspices to determine what he knows about espionage in the United States.

I understand that in fact the Canadian Government does offer, if Mr. Gouzenko agrees, to make arrangements for a confidential meeting under Canadian auspices at which a person designated by the United States Government can be present.

With reference to the publication of Mr. Gouzenko's testimony, I note that you suggest that your committee should have the final decision as to whether to publicize or keep secret the portions of Mr. Gouzenko's testimony which your subcommittee judges to affect wholly the interests of the United States and not those of Canada.

The Canadian Government as I understand, takes the position that in the case of evidence or information—

The CHAIRMAN. Right there on that paragraph, that is not exactly a correct statement of my request to Mr. Dulles. We did not state our position in that way. All we said is that we would like to talk to Mr. Gouzenko at an interview and then we would determine what the evidence was.

That is not exactly a correct analysis of our request of November 25, to Mr. Dulles.

Mr. MORRIS (reading):

Once having determined what he knows, the subcommittee would then like to address itself to what should be done about the evidence or the information at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is exactly right. We said after we have the evidence that we would sit down and determine what to do.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing the reading):

The Canadian Government, as I understand, takes the position that in the case of evidence or information secured in Canada under the auspices of the Canadian Government, that Government must have the right to approve the publication. I would not want to ask the Canadian Government to change its position in this respect because I believe that the United States would itself want to take a like position under similar circumstances. I feel that the United States Government should never admit that any foreign governmental agency can overrule or supplant the judgment of the United States Government in deciding whether it is to the interest of the United States that publication be made of information obtained in the United States through an act of courtesy to the United States Government.

I know that it is your intention to exercise the right to publicize only when your subcommittee considers the United States interests alone are concerned, but I believe that the Canadian Government is on solid ground in insisting that it should be the final judge whether or not its interest was involved. I would under similar circumstances take the same position on behalf of the United States. I believe you would want me to do so.

I think we can all assume and certainly this Government assumes that neither of our two Governments will use its sovereign discretion arbitrarily to prevent a publication which is not affected with its own national interest and which would serve the interest of the other.

Under the circumstances you may feel that it is now in order to proceed pursuant to the response of the Canadian Government.

I am grateful for the expression of the appreciation of your subcommittee for any cooperation in this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like our record to show the complete correspondence on this matter on Igor Gouzenko and I would like to show why we wanted to interview Mr. Gouzenko.

(The correspondence file as of November 23, 1953, appears at p. 1177.)

Mr. MORRIS Mr. Chairman, during the course of the past year, the subcommittee had received a security report dated November 1945.

Throughout that security report there occurred references to information of which Igor Gouzenko had knowledge.

At the requests of Senators Butler and Welker, the staff made a run-down of all references that appeared in our record, which seemed to have as their source Mr. Igor Gouzenko.

A partial list of those was compiled yesterday and made public, almost all of those, however, have previously been made public during the course of our hearings.

Now, would you like me to read them? Some of the Senators have not heard them.

Senator WELKER. I think you should read them to the others of the committee who just came in today.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. These, Senators, are extracts from the 1945 security memorandum which the committee has been using from time to time:

During the period since V-E Day, and particularly since V-J Day, the picture of Soviet espionage activity in the United States has become clearer.

According to the information furnished to a representative of this Bureau and to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police by Igor Gouzenko, as set out elsewhere in this memorandum, the headquarters of Red Army Intelligence in Moscow issued instructions after the use of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and on Nagasaki, and in fact subsequent to the actual surrender of Japan, that the discovery of all technical phases of the construction of the atomic bomb was the number one espionage project for the Soviets.

Under these instructions it would not be likely that Soviet espionage in this country would decrease. According to Gouzenko, the complete data was to be supplied to Moscow regarding the atomic bomb by the end of December 1945.

As far as Red army intelligence activity in the United States is concerned, only three persons previously identified in this memorandum as engaged in espionage activity are still connected with the official representation of the Soviets in the United States. These three are Gen. Ilya Saraev, military attaché, Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C.; Pavel Mikhailov, acting Soviet consul general, New York City; Col. A. I. Servin, tank department, Soviet Government Purchasing Commission, Washington, D. C. In addition to these, there have been identified in this memorandum—

The name of the man that appeared in the memorandum has been deleted because on October 28, when he we heard his testimony, he denied that he was a Soviet agent and the subcommittee felt it needed additional facts and information before it could proceed with the investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of the main reasons we wanted to get Mr. Gouzenko, to find out whether or not he would testify about Mr. X being a Soviet agent.

When we had him in executive session he denied he was a Soviet agent.

Mr. MORRIS. Pursuant to committee policy, if a case is incomplete we try to conceal the identity of a person until an open hearing.

[Continuing:]

of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, who is reportedly working for Red Army Intelligence, as well as the group primarily located in New York City, headed by Arthur Alexandrovich Adams.

With regard to espionage in the United States, Igor Gouzenko, former code clerk in the office of the Soviet military attaché, Ottawa, Canada, advised a representative of this Bureau and officers of the RCMP, that during World War II the head of Red army intelligence activities in the United States was Gen. Ilya Saraev [Saraev] the military attaché. Two of the principal operators of espionage rings under Saraev [Saraev] were Pavel P. Mikhailov, acting Soviet consul general in New York City, and Col. A. I. Sorvin [Servin] of the tank department of the Soviet Government Purchasing Commission. Gouzenko was positive in his identification of these two individuals.

Igor Gouzenko, formerly of the Soviet military attaché's office, Ottawa, Canada, advised a representative of this Bureau in the presence of a representative of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police that in the spring of 1944 the deputy chief of Red Milsky—

there seems to be a mistake. It reads Red Milsky—

and an inspector of high rank in the NKVD made a joint inspection tour of intelligence facilities in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, traveling under the guise of diplomatic couriers.

* * * * *

During the United Nations Conference on International Organization, held at San Francisco in the spring of 1945, Louise Bransten entertained at her home Dimitri Manuilski, the principal representative of the Ukraine S. S. R., who is more widely known as a longtime official and spokesman of the Comintern. Bransten is, at the present time, in New York City where she has established contact with Pavel Mikhailov, acting Soviet consul general, who has been reported to this Bureau and to the RCMP by Igor Gouzenko, mentioned elsewhere in this memorandum, as the head of Red army intelligence espionage activity in the New York area.

Before that information was released we had subpoenaed Louise Bransten and she testified in open session before this committee.

When asked about this particular information she invoked the privilege under the fifth amendment rather than answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Another extract reads:

Arthur Adams has been very inactive in recent months as far as contacts with individuals outside the office of Keynote Recordings, Inc., are concerned. There is no indication, however, that he has given up his espionage activity, inasmuch as Igor Gouzenko has advised an agent of this Bureau in the presence of representatives of the RCMP that espionage relating to the atomic bomb is the No. 1 project of the Soviets at the present time.

* * * * *

Ignacy Witezak, mentioned heretofore, was identified by Igor Gouzenko to an agent of this Bureau and to representatives of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as a person who would operate espionage agents in the United States in the event diplomatic relations were broken between the Soviet Union and the United States; and such agents could no longer be "run" by representatives of the Embassy or consulate.

* * * * *

Igor Gouzenko, former code clerk in the office of Col. Nikolai Zabin, Soviet military attaché, Ottawa, Canada, when interviewed by a representative of this Bureau and officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, stated that he had been informed by Lieutenant Kulakov in the office of the Soviet military attaché that the Soviets had an agent in the United States in May 1945 who was an assistant to the then Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius. No further information on this matter was available.

We wanted to determine at that point in connection with that material whether or not the agent so described was Alger Hiss as the security memorandum would indicate.

The CHAIRMAN. Or somebody else, which might lead us to a new ring of espionage in Government.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing reading):

Additional information furnished by Gouzenko enabled this Bureau to identify another Soviet agent being operated by Red army intelligence in the United States. This individual is X, a field employee of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, who is assigned as a scientific consultant to the commander in chief of the United States Fleet in the Navy Department. X has been determined by this Bureau to be a contact of—

And there we took out the name of the person we heard on October 28 in New York executive session.

X has been determined by this Bureau to be a contact—

and the name left out there is the name of a Canadian, but even though he was exposed by Canadian authorities we do not feel we should divulge it.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been the policy of our committee that if Canada wants to divulge it, they can, but we do not operate that way.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing reading):

of Y in Montreal, Canada, who is one of the espionage agents in Canada being operated by Red Army Intelligence.

Gouzenko's story with regard to X is that he was originally recruited by one Frieda in Canada. After X left McGill University in Montreal, Canada, where he was employed, and obtained a position with the Office of Scientific Research and Development, he was turned over to Soviet representatives in the United States. This was effected by Maj. Vassili Rogov, assistant military attaché for air in Canada, who formally transferred him in Washington, D. C., to Col A. I. Sorvin [Servin], of the tank department of the Soviet Government Purchasing Commission, who Gouzenko says is an important head of espionage activity in Red army intelligence under Gen. Ilia Saraev, Soviet military attaché, Washington, D. C.

X is a native-born American citizen who has specialized in the field of zoology. Information developed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police indicated that it is possible that X was the individual who furnished information concerning the Navy's radio proximity fuse to Dr. Alan Nunn May, the British scientist stationed in Canada, who was an agent of the Soviets and who passed on a garbled description of the proximity fuse to the Soviets.

The CHAIRMAN. To complete our record, you might show the earlier correspondence on this Igor Gouzenko matter.

Mr. MORRIS. Shall I put it in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Put it in the record so our record will be complete.

(The correspondence with Secretary Dulles on the Gouzenko matter, complete as of November 23, 1953, follows:)

OCTOBER 26, 1953.

HON. W. SCOTT McLEOD,

*Administrator, Bureau of Security,
Consular Affairs and Personnel,*

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. McLEOD: In the Washington Times-Herald for Monday, October 26, 1953, there is a statement attributed to Igor Gouzenko to the effect that a talk with me or some representative of the Subcommittee on Internal Security "would be worthwhile."

As you, of course, are aware, Mr. Gouzenko is the former cypher clerk of the Soviet Embassy in Canada who made extremely important disclosures regarding the Soviet conspiracy several years ago. Naturally, we are very anxious to get in touch with him.

I would like to delegate our subcommittee counsel, Mr. Robert Morris, to interview Mr. Gouzenko, together with anyone Mr. Morris deems necessary to accompany him.

Will you be good enough to transmit to the Canadian Government our formal request for permission to interview Mr. Gouzenko in Canada at your earliest possible convenience.

Thank you for your courtesy and warmest regards.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. JENNER,

Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

NOVEMBER 5, 1953.

Mr. ROBERT MORRIS,
Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR BOB: In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am enclosing herewith for your files and records a true copy of our communication with the Canadian Government and their reply in connection with your requested interview with Mr. Igor Gouzenko.

I am also enclosing photostats of the newspaper articles reporting Gouzenko's willingness to talk to congressional committee representatives, and today's AP dispatch on the turndown which preceded an official communication to the Department.

With best wishes to you, Bob, and hope we can get together before you leave town.

Sincerely,

FRANCES G. KNIGHT,
Assistant Deputy Administrator.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington.

[Transmitted October 29, 1953]

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of Canada and has the honor to advise that the Department of State has been informed by Mr. Robert Morris, counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of his desire to interview Mr. Igor Gouzenko in Canada. Mr. Morris has further inquired of the Department of State how such an interview could be arranged. He has been informed that his request would be submitted to the Government of Canada through its Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Morris desires the Department to mention that he has noted the publicly expressed desire of Mr. Gouzenko to talk to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and that the chairman of this committee, Senator William E. Jenner, considers this offer to be valuable.

It would be appreciated if the Department of State might be informed concerning the reply the Canadian Government desires to be made to Mr. Morris on this matter.

EUR: BNA: HRaynor: smw

SCA EUR

No. 807

THE CANADIAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D. C., November 5, 1953.

The Ambassador of Canada presents his compliments to the Secretary of State and, in reply to his note of October 29 transmitting a request from Mr. Robert Morris, counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, to interview Mr. Igor Gouzenko in Canada, has the honour to state as follows:

1. Apparently Mr. Morris' wish to interview Mr. Guzenko arises from the fact as stated in your note of October 29 that he has "noted the publicly expressed desire of Mr. Gouzenko to talk to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee." This presumably refers to a statement attributed to Mr. Gouzenko in an article in the Chicago Tribune that he had some further information.

2. Before this request had been received from Mr. Morris, Mr. Gouzenko had already been questioned concerning his alleged statement since, if there had been any additional information, it should have been given to the Canadian authorities. Mr. Gouzenko, however, denies that he has any further information beyond what was reported in the Royal Commission's report.

3. Mr. Gouzenko states that he has been misquoted by the Chicago Tribune and denies both the alleged remarks concerning additional information and the alleged criticism of the handling of the case or the use of the information derived from it.

4. All information connected with this case which could be of value to the United States Government was promptly transmitted without delay as soon as it was available.

5. Under these circumstances, it is presumed that the reasons for Mr. Morris' request to interview Mr. Gouzenko have disappeared.

A. D. P. H.

NOVEMBER 13, 1953.

Hon. JOHN FOSTER DULLES,

Secretary, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am enclosing an exchange of correspondence which reflects that Mr. Robert Morris, chief counsel for the Internal Security Subcommittee, acting through your office, endeavored to interview Mr. Igor Gouzenko, former Soviet code clerk in Ottawa, now believed to be in the custody of the Canadian Government. Your Department transmitted Mr. Morris' request to the Canadian Ambassador who, after notifying his Government, in turn, informed us of the Canadian Government's unwillingness to make Mr. Gouzenko available to the subcommittee for questioning either in Canada or in the United States.

You will note from the attached correspondence that there are certain facts on espionage in the United States now in the record of the Internal Security Subcommittee which do not appear in the report of the Canadian Royal Commission. In view of the discrepancy between this and the last sentence of paragraph 2 of the Canadian reply, I submit to you that it would be in the best interest to ask the Canadian Government to reconsider its decision in this matter and allow Mr. Gouzenko to be made available to this subcommittee.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. JENNER.

NOVEMBER 19, 1953.

Hon. WILLIAM E. JENNER,

*Chairman, the Subcommittee on Internal Security,
Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate.*

MY DEAR SENATOR JENNER: I refer to your letter of November 13 in which you state your belief that it would be in the best interest to ask the Canadian Government to reconsider its decision in regard to the questioning of Mr. Gouzenko. The Department is conveying your request to the Canadian Government and I will be glad to inform you when a reply is received.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

NOVEMBER 23, 1953.

Hon. WILLIAM E. JENNER,

*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SENATOR JENNER: I have your letter¹ of November 21 enclosing a copy of a statement by Igor Gouzenko and asking me to transmit this document to the Canadian Government in support of your previously relayed request that Mr. Gouzenko be made available to the Internal Security Subcommittee for questioning.

I understand that the Canadian Government reply to the Department's note of November 19 transmitting your request is expected soon, probably tomorrow. In the light of this and of the report that the Canadian Government is already informed concerning Mr. Gouzenko's statement of November 20, I shall take the liberty of awaiting the receipt of the Canadian Government's reply.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me state for the benefit of the committee, and for the public, that our committee is now considering this Igor Guzenko matter. We have not arrived at a definite conclusion.

We will have a session this afternoon to determine what, if any, further steps or procedure we should take in this important matter.

Mr. MORRIS. Is Mr. Raymond Murphy here?

Mr. MURPHY. Here.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you come forward?

Will you be sworn to testify?

Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MURPHY. I do.

¹ Chairman Jenner's letter and the document attached thereto appears in the hearing of November 23 at p. 1171.

**TESTIMONY OF RAYMOND MURPHY, POLITICAL ANALYST,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name for the committee?

Mr. MURPHY. Raymond Murphy.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. MURPHY. Washington, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. MURPHY. Political analyst, Department of State.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you presently with the Department of State?

Mr. MURPHY. I am.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman and Senators of the committee, in connection with the appearance of this witness this morning, we have called, pursuant to custom, State Department authorities and asked that he be allowed to come down for a particular purpose of identifying certain notes that are being presented to him now.

Inasmuch as that is the particular purpose of his being cleared here, I think if we limit the questioning to that particular thing, we will be adhering to our policy and what we agreed with the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure the committee will cooperate in that request.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Murphy, I have given you two photostats there of memoranda.

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recognize those?

Mr. MURPHY. I recognize the one called E. X. DIBNCFST.

Mr. MORRIS. You recognize what?

Mr. MURPHY. Just a second.

Mr. MORRIS. He has not been shown those until now.

Mr. MURPHY. I recognize them both.

The CHAIRMAN. Identify the one you referred to again.

Mr. MURPHY. The first one is a memorandum of conversation, Tuesday, March 20, 1945, Westminster, Md. The name of the informant is not given. It was Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. MORRIS. The second one?

Mr. MURPHY. The second one was a memorandum of conversation, August 28, 1946, again with Whittaker Chambers whose name was not mentioned.

Both have the purport of my conversations with him as I typed these up the next day based on my memorandum or notes taken at the time.

Senator JOHNSON. Those are not sworn statements?

Mr. MURPHY. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you get the note for me, please.

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of introducing these at this time is to show that on March 20, 1945, and later in August 28, 1946, Mr. Chambers had made a record of certain facts that are of interest to this committee.

I would like to point out with particularity the reference here—

The CHAIRMAN. Which memorandum are you referring to?

Mr. MORRIS. The first one, dated March 20, 1945, which is many months before the November 7 and 8 disclosure that Mr. Hoover made to General Vaughan of the White House.

Harry White of the Treasury was described as a member at large, but rather timid. He put on as Assistant Treasurer Glasser, a member of the underground group and an Adler or Odler.

The two Coe brothers, also party members, were also put on by White.

Now, there are other items in here which are of interest to the committee, but inasmuch as at this particular time we are concentrating on the Treasury aspect of this thing, I think we can confine the first memorandum to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Those other items are pertaining to other departments of the Government?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

I think that covers the Treasury now.

On August 28, 1946, it reads:

My informant did not know the Coe who taught at McGill University, but he understood that he was a Communist. The other Coe he definitely knew to be a Communist. Harry White was reported to be a member of one of the cells, not a leader, and his brother-in-law, a dentist in New York, is said to be a fanatical Communist.

Then it goes on to talk about Alger Hiss.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go in the record and become a part of the record.

Senator WATKINS. The whole thing, or the parts he read?

The CHAIRMAN. The parts he read.

Mr. MORRIS. I wanted to call attention only at this particular juncture in the record to the particular reference to the Treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. Both of the exhibits in full may go in the record and become part of the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION, AUGUST 28, 1946

The Communist underground in Washington is believed to have been set up sometime in 1933 after the inauguration of President Roosevelt. My informant does not know how or when it was set up, but he believes that Harold Ware had a prominent part in creating the underground and in enlisting key members. Ware, of course, would have acted pursuant to orders from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

My informant entered into the Washington picture in the summer of 1935 and left it and the party at the end of December 1937. The group was already in being and functioning actively. His superior was the Hungarian known as J. Peters, the national head of the Communist underground movement. My informant acted as a courier between Washington and New York. He participated in oral discussions in Washington with the group which Peters himself conducted. They met only the top layer—in other words, leaders of cells of the Communist underground in Government circles.

My informant did not know the Coe who taught at McGill University, but he understood that he was a Communist. The other Coe he definitely knew to be a Communist. Harry White was reported to be a member of one of the cells, not a leader, and his brother-in-law, a dentist in New York, is said to be a fanatical Communist. Alger Hiss was never to make converts. His job was to mess up policy. The Post of the State Department was a cell member. He thought he was of Nat Perlow's group. Post was formerly on the WPA where he measured skulls. He was definitely of minor importance in the movement compared with Hiss.

The heads of the various underground groups in Washington who met with Peters were the Hisses, Kramer (Krivitzky), Henry Collins, who was either secretary or treasurer of the group, John Abt, Lee Pressman, Nat Perlow, and Nat Witt. These men met regularly at special meetings. With the exception of Donald Hiss, who did not have an organization, they headed parallel organizations. But they did not know the personnel of the different organizations.

Hal Ware was the top man of these organizations. Upon his death in 1936 a fight broke out for leadership, but Nat Witt won out. Sometime after 1937 Witt is said to have been succeeded by Abt.

(There were other underground Communist groups operating in Washington, but this was the elite policymaking, top-level group.) This group did not exchange secret documents from the Government departments, but did give sealed reports on the membership of the groups and on policy. It was not a spy ring but one far more important and cunning because its members helped to shape policy in their departments. Henry Collins, as secretary or treasurer, delivered most of the sealed reports to my informant. At that time Henry Collins was believed to be working in the Forestry Division of Agriculture.

Peters was in the Agricultural Department of Hungary under Bela Kun. He was in the Austrian Army in World War I. He is a little dark fellow, small feet and wavy black hair.

At the meetings in Washington with this group Peters would give pep talks on Communist theory. He would then talk to each leader separately. Peters often discussed the morale with my informant. He praised the Hiss boys to my informant very highly but was doubtful of Pressman. He had a high opinion of Witt, a slightly less high opinion of Abt, thought Kramer was a nice boy but shallow, and had very little use for Perlow. He liked Henry Collins.

My informant asked Alger Hiss personally to break with the party in early 1938, but Hiss refused with tears in his eyes and said he would remain loyal to the party.

After his break with the party, Grace Hutchins telephoned the mother of my informant on Long Island one night and said that if he did not return to the party by the following Thursday, it was a question of his death.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION, TUESDAY, MARCH 20, 1945, WESTMINSTER, Md.

The person talking was the liaison man for the Communist Party of the United States with most of the persons listed below, and he spoke from personal knowledge, not hearsay. At the time he described the official line of the Communist Party was antiadministration, pretty violent, and the antithesis of the popular front days of post-1935. It is true that this second phase blended in with the first period during which these persons continued cooperation.

It seems that in 1934 with the establishment of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the introduction of much reform legislation in Washington, the Communist Party decided its influence could be felt more strongly by enlisting the active support of underground workers not openly identified with the party and never previously affiliated with the party but whose background and training would make them possible prospects as affiliates under the guise of advancing reform legislation. The Hungarian, party name J. Peters, was selected by the Central Committee to supervise the work from New York. His Washington representative and contact man was the informant and he personally met and discussed many times various problems with the persons listed below except those specifically named as coming under another person's jurisdiction. The persons listed below are said to have disclosed much confidential matter and to have arranged among themselves a program committing this Government to a policy in keeping with the desires of the Communist Party.

The opportunity presented itself for the formation of an underground group with the appointment to a leading position in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in 1934 of one Harold Ware. Ware had worked for years in agricultural collectivization projects in Russia. He was a son of Ella Reeves Bloor, veteran American Communist, by one of her numerous marriages. On being assigned to this agency, Ware found a group of very promising, ambitious young men with advanced social and political ideas. Among them were Lee Pressman, Alger Hiss, Henry Collins, and Charles Kramer (Krivitsky). They all joined the Communist Party and became leaders of cells. No cell has over 10 members. This was the nucleus of the Communist underground organization in Washington. The purpose was for each member to advance as high as possible in the Government to shape legislation favorable to the program of the Communist Party. The top leaders of the underground were:

1. Harold Ware.
2. Lee Pressman.
3. Alger Hiss. In order of their importance.

There were various underground headquarters in Washington at the time. Among these were a violin studio near Dupont Circle run by Helen Ware, another place was a school on the outskirts of Washington run by Alice Mendham.

The informant dealt with these people from 1934 to the end of 1937 when he broke with the party and attempted to persuade various of these contacts to break also. He remembers several conversations with Alger Hiss in the early part of 1938 during which Hiss was adamant against the plan of breaking with the party. He described Hiss as a person with a charming personality, absolutely sincere in his convictions and motivated by the idea that he was on the right track.

The informant traced the jobs of these men until the end of 1937 and in each job they worked together with each other and with the party. Later adherents to the party included Donald Hiss, Henry Collins, and a man named Post in the State Department.

In a special category were Noel Field and Lawrence Duggan of the State Department. Field was described as a member at large of the party, Duggan was not. Neither was connected with the underground and in fact the underground had orders to refrain from contacting them. The special liaison of Field and Duggan was one Hetta Gumperts. She is now in the personnel department of the Todd Shipbuilding Corp. and is married to Paul Massing, a former member of the German Communist Party described by General Krivitzky in his book. Massing is a penologist for the State of Pennsylvania and they have a farm near Quakertown, Pa. He is also known as Karl Billinger. Hetta Gumperts is a Viennese Jewish girl. When Field went to the League of Nations in 1936 he left Duggan in her special care. Gumperts was a Communist International agent. It is understood that Field and Duggan disclosed any information she wanted to know.

Harry White of the Treasury was described as a member at large but rather timid. He put on as assistants in the Treasury, Glasser, a member of the underground group, and an Adler or Odler, another party member. The two Coe brothers, also party members, were also put on by White.

Nathan Kaplan, head of the National Research project, was a party member as was the other head and his sister Rose Weinstein.

Lee Pressman was not a party member. He was directed by the party to accept the offer of John L. Lewis in 1936 to become general counsel of the CIO. Pressman is said to have run arms to Spain during the civil war via Mexico and to have worked with General Mark More in that project. More was involved in the Rubens Robinson passport case in 1938.

Nathan Witt of the Labor Board was a party member and also underground.

When Harold Ware was killed in an auto accident near Baltimore about 1936, John Abt succeeded him as leader of the underground in Washington. Abt not only succeeded him in the job, he married Ware's widow, Jessica Smith. Abt today is associated as counsel of the CIO-PAC with Sidney Hillman and was a delegate to the recent Trade Union Conference in London.

Eleanor Nelson ran a low grade but important Communist group in the Government. More of a trade-union group but its members had access to Government files which would be made available to the party. Liss [sic] was a member of this group.

Mr. MORRIS. You say, Mr. Murphy, you made these up?

Mr. MURPHY. I did, myself.

Mr. MORRIS. On the following days, that is on March 21 and August 29?

Mr. MURPHY. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with them after you made them up, Mr. Murphy? Have you testified as to what your title and position was at the time?

Mr. MURPHY. I was a special assistant at the time for the Director of the Office of European Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. We will not go any further into what happened after that.

Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Mr. Murphy.

Mr. Chairman, the next witness will be Mr. Ullmann.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ullmann, will you come forward, please.

Mr. FORER. We object to the photographs and lights, Mr. Chairman. We would like to have a ruling against taking the photographs and against the lights.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the policy of this committee that when a witness is testifying that he not be photographed and televised. But I might state to the photographers and those operating the television that if they want to keep the lights and the camera on the committee, it will be perfectly agreeable with this committee.

Will you be sworn to testify, Mr. Ullmann?

Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ULLMANN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that Mr. Ullmann is present before this committee with his attorney.

Mr. Forer, will you give your name and address for the record?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMANN, HARVEY CEDARS, N. J. (ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name for our record?

Mr. ULLMANN. William Ludwig Ullmann.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside?

Mr. ULLMANN. Harvey Cedars, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business is a builder?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, you may proceed with the questioning of Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, during the earlier series of hearings of this subcommittee on interlocking subversion in the United States Government, Mr. Ullmann's name has frequently come up. We had dispensed calling him. He had been called some years previously by the House Un-American Activities Committee and pretty much the testimony relating to him related to Mr. Silvermaster, who did appear before this committee.

However, developments in recent weeks, the testimony of Mr. Brownell, the testimony of Mr. Hoover, and other witnesses before this committee, have so involved Mr. Ullmann that it has been decided that he should be here today to give testimony about the materials that have appeared since that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, will you tell us from what university you graduated?

Mr. ULLMANN. I graduated from Drury College in Missouri.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. ULLMANN. 1930.

Then graduate school at Harvard, 1932—Graduate School of Business Administration.

Mr. MORRIS. 1932?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Anything else, Mr. Ullmann? Any other degrees?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Any other schooling?

Mr. ULLMANN. Prep school before college.

Mr. MORRIS. Any subsequent schooling?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a teacher?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I haven't.

Senator WELKER. Where were you born?

Mr. ULLMANN. Springfield, Mo.

Senator WELKER. What year?

Mr. ULLMANN. 1908.

Mr. MORRIS. What positions have you held subsequent to obtaining a business degree in Harvard in 1932?

Mr. ULLMANN. What positions?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ULLMANN. I can't recall all the positions.

Mr. MORRIS. Confine it to your Government positions. You came to Washington in 1935?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You took a position on June 10 with the NRA?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get that job?

Mr. ULLMANN. I applied for a job there with the Consumers Advisory Committee.

Mr. MORRIS. To whom did you apply?

Mr. ULLMANN. I applied to Mrs. Emily Blair.

Mr. MORRIS. What position did Mrs. Emily Blair have at that time?

Mr. ULLMANN. I think she was the head of the Consumers Advisory Committee of the NRA.

Mr. MORRIS. She is the wife of Harry Blair?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay with the NRA?

Mr. ULLMANN. Until after the Supreme Court decision upset it.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, on June 6, 1937, you resigned from NRA to go with the Resettlement Division?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances of that transfer?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall them very well. I applied there for a job with the finance division.

Mr. MORRIS. What that an increase, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't recall the circumstances of your transferring from the NRA to the Resettlement Division?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did anyone help you in that transfer?

Mr. ULLMANN. Not that I can remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you give as references?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't remember that.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you got promotions on March 31, 1937, you received a promotion in Rural Resettlement, did you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, according to our record, Mr. Ullmann, on June 30, 1937, you received an emergency appointment as the right-hand man for the Director of Rural Resettlement. Does that refresh any recollection of yours?

Mr. ULLMANN. As I recall, I was assigned to that division to work on their budgets and financial questions.

Mr. MORRIS. Then on March 17, 1939, you resigned to go to Monetary Research, did you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get into Monetary Research? That is in 1939. It was the beginning of a phase in your life that was rather extensive, Mr. Ullmann, and I am going to ask you with great stress that you try to relate the circumstances of your transfer to Monetary Research.

Mr. ULLMANN. I heard there was some work to be done there on administration of the Anti-Dumping Act and applied for a job.

Mr. MORRIS. Excuse me, Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. ULLMANN. I say, I heard that there was some work to be done there on the administration of the Anti-Dumping Act under the Tariff Act.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1946?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't remember the date of the act. But it had to do with the finding of injury in the case of dumping.

The CHAIRMAN. Part of the Revenue Act?

Mr. ULLMANN. Part of the Tariff Act.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ULLMANN. And I applied for a position there.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first meet Harry White, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. It was sometime in that period of 1938, late 1938, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, prior to the time you went to Monetary Research?

Mr. ULLMANN. Sometime in that period.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you meet Frank Coe?

Mr. ULLMANN. After I got to the Treasury.

Mr. MORRIS. After you got to the Treasury?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. So Coe would not have helped you get into Monetary Research?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; not very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did Harry White help you in any way get into Monetary Research?

Mr. ULLMANN. I interviewed White, among others.

Mr. MORRIS. He interviewed you, that is?

Mr. ULLMANN. He interviewed me.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you know Mr. C. B. Baldwin at that time?

Mr. ULLMANN. I knew Mr. Baldwin.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he write a letter on January 24, 1939, to Mr. Harry Dexter White, Director of Monetary Research of the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. I have here what purports to be a photostat of the letter of Mr. C. B. Baldwin, January 24, 1939, to Mr. Harry Dexter White:

DEAR MR. WHITE: This is in regard to your letter of January 11, in which you requested information concerning Mr. William L. Ullmann, whose application is under consideration in your Division.

Mr. Ullmann has been employed in the Finance and Control Division of this Administration for over 3 years. In that period he has given entirely satisfactory service. On several specific occasions I have had an opportunity to observe personally the results of Mr. Ullmann's work, and these assignments were competently executed.

I am of the opinion that Mr. Ullmann has a definite capacity for thoughtful and painstaking work in the field of finance.

Does that square with your recollection at that time?

Mr. ULLMANN. I just don't recall.

Senator WELKER. May I ask you right now, what was your experience in the field of finance?

Mr. ULLMANN. At the Farm Security Administration.

Senator WELKER. The field of finance in which they said you had quite a reputation in that field. What was that experience?

Mr. ULLMANN. It was varied, dealing with budgets and accounting, corporate finance.

Senator WELKER. Where did he receive that, in private industry or in Government?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; my education was in corporate finance and accounting at the Harvard Graduate School of Business.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in connection with this the witness has not identified or recalled that this particular letter was written. However, it is a letter from the files and, limited as it is, as evidence, may it go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, January 24, 1939.

Mr. H. D. WHITE,
*Director of Monetary Research,
Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. WHITE: This is in regard to your letter of January 11 in which you requested information concerning Mr. William L. Ullmann, whose application is under consideration in your Division.

Mr. Ullmann has been employed in the Finance and Control Division of this Administration for over 3 years. In that period he has given entirely satisfactory service. On several specific occasions, I have had an opportunity to observe personally the results of Mr. Ullmann's work, and these assignments were competently executed.

I am of the opinion that Mr. Ullmann has a definite capacity for thoughtful and painstaking work in the field of finance. I understand that he has rather detailed technical knowledge of several of the problems relating to the general field of Government finance. I further understand that he has received graduate training in the general field of economics and business research.

I would assume that the combined factors of training and experience in Mr. Ullmann's case would make him a useful worker in your Division.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. BALDWIN,
Assistant Administrator.

Mr. MORRIS. I have here also from the Government files three items which I would like to go into the record at this time.

One is a United States Treasury personnel recommendation which indicates that he was promoted by Frank Coe on June 10, 1941.

Another, dated November 28, 1941, wherein Harry Dexter White rates him all strong points except one.

Another in which Harry Dexter White on December 24, 1941, recommended he be raised in his position.

The CHAIRMAN. Those may go in the record at this point and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT WASHINGTON, D. C.		PAGE: 7763																																																								
PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION																																																										
TO: DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL		Date: December 24, 1941																																																								
Name: <u>Gibbons, William L.</u>																																																										
From: <u>Division of Monetary Research</u> Bureau No.:																																																										
Nature of Recommendation: <u>Change in status - increase in grade and salary</u>																																																										
<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>FROM</th> <th>TO</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Position</td> <td>Sr. Economic Analyst</td> <td>Sr. Economic Analyst</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade</td> <td>P-6</td> <td>P-6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Salary</td> <td>\$5000 per annum</td> <td>\$5600 per annum</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bureau or Div. Organizational Subdivisions</td> <td>Div. of Monetary Research</td> <td>Div. of Monetary Research</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Headquarters</td> <td>Washington, D. C.</td> <td>Washington, D. C.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Post of Duty</td> <td>Washington, D. C.</td> <td>Washington, D. C.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Appropriation</td> <td>Exchange Stabilization Fund</td> <td>Exchange Stabilization Fund</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Altitude</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>			FROM	TO	Position	Sr. Economic Analyst	Sr. Economic Analyst	Grade	P-6	P-6	Salary	\$5000 per annum	\$5600 per annum	Bureau or Div. Organizational Subdivisions	Div. of Monetary Research	Div. of Monetary Research	Headquarters	Washington, D. C.	Washington, D. C.	Post of Duty	Washington, D. C.	Washington, D. C.	Appropriation	Exchange Stabilization Fund	Exchange Stabilization Fund	Altitude			<table border="1"> <tr> <td>CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER LEGAL AUTHORITY</td> </tr> <tr> <td>APPROPRIATION</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ESFR</td> </tr> <tr> <td>DATE OF BIRTH</td> </tr> <tr> <td>8-14-08</td> </tr> <tr> <td>LEGAL RESIDENCE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Missouri</td> </tr> <tr> <td>SEX</td> <td>RACE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>M</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">NATURE OF POSITION</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NEW</td> <td>APPT. 1941</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VICE VACANCY</td> <td>VICE</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">HAS C. S. CONSIDERED VETERAN'S PREFERENCE</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">No</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">DATE OF BIRTH</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> </table>	CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER LEGAL AUTHORITY	APPROPRIATION	ESFR	DATE OF BIRTH	8-14-08	LEGAL RESIDENCE	Missouri	SEX	RACE	M		NATURE OF POSITION		NEW	APPT. 1941			VICE VACANCY	VICE			HAS C. S. CONSIDERED VETERAN'S PREFERENCE		No		DATE OF BIRTH			
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No																																																										
DATE OF BIRTH																																																										
EFFECTIVE: December 24, 1941																																																										
Remarks:																																																										
<p>Justification: Duties have been reviewed by Classification Officer; change in grade and salary recommended.</p> <p><i>Off. Dec 24, 1941</i> <i>H. D. White</i> <i>Secretary of the Treasury</i></p> <p>Consideration given all other eligible employees Certified as to sufficiency of Appropriated Funds</p>																																																										
(FOR USE OF DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL, TREASURY DEPARTMENT)																																																										

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT WASHINGTON, D. C.		PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION		PAGE: 34892	
TO DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL				Date: June 19, 1941	
Name: Ullmann, William L.				CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER LEGAL AUTHORITY	
From: Division of Monetary Research Bureau No:					
Nature of Recommendation: Promotion					
Position	FROM	TO	APPROPRIATION		
Grade	Sr. Economic Analyst	Sr. Economic Analyst	ESFR		
Salary	P-5 \$4800 per annum	P-5 \$5000 per annum	DATE OF BIRTH		
Bureau or Div.	Div. of Monetary Research	Div. of Monetary Research	8-14-08		
Organizational Subdivisions			LEGAL RESIDENCE		
			Missouri		
Headquarters	Washington, D. C.	Washington, D. C.	SEX	RACE	
Post of Duty			M	W	
Appropriation	Exchange Stabilization Fund	Exchange Stabilization Fund	NATURE OF POSITION		
Assignment	Departmental	Departmental	NEW	ADDTL. INFO.	
Field or Detail					
EFFECTIVE	June 18, 1941		VICE VACANCY		
Remarks:			VICE		
Justification:			SUBJECT TO RETIREMENT ACT		
			No		
			DATE OF BIRTH		
Consideration given all other eligible employees Certified as to sufficiency of Appropriated Funds			VFCe		
(FOR USE OF DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL, TREASURY DEPARTMENT)			DATE APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY		

Form 3201—(April 1946)

U.S. Civil Service Commission

Classification		
Series	Grade	Class
1	5	

SERVICE RATING FORM

(Read instructions on back of this form)

Check one:

Supervisory ☒Non-supervisory ☐Name William L. WilmanDepartment Treasury

Office of the Secretary

Division of Monetary Research

(Room)

(Telephone)

(City)

(State)

On this form mark employees:
 ✓ If neither above nor work point.
 — If work point.
 + If below point.

1. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position.
2. Mark non-supervisory employees on all elements except those in *Italics*.
3. Mark supervisory employees on all elements.

12 points below rate assigned

1 or 2 if Excellent
 3 or 4 if Very Good
 5 or 6 if Good
 7 or 8 if Fair
 9 or 10 if Unsatisfactory

I. QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE

- ✓ (a) Thoroughness; adequacy of results.
- ✓ (b) General dependability; accuracy of results.
- ✓ (c) Technical skill with which the important procedures or instruments are employed in performing his duties.
- ✓ (d) Original contributions to method or knowledge.
- ✓ (e) *Effectiveness in getting good work done by his unit.*

1

II. PRODUCTIVENESS

- ✓ (a) Amount of work accomplished.
- ✓ (b) Application of energy, interest, and technical resources to duties; industry.
- ✓ (c) Effectiveness in planning so as to utilize time to best advantage.
- ✓ (d) Completing assignments; making progress on assigned projects.
- ✓ (e) Composing adequate reports or other required writings.
- ✓ (f) *Effectiveness in securing adequate output from his unit.*

2

III. QUALIFICATIONS SHOWN ON JOB

- ✓ (a) Knowledge of particular field of work and of the fundamentals on which it is based.
- ✓ (b) Analytical ability; constructive reasoning in the field of specialization.
- ✓ (c) Scientific or professional attitude; fairness; freedom from bias.
- ✓ (d) Judgment; sense of proportion; common sense.
- ✓ (e) Initiative; resourcefulness; ability to grow.
- ✓ (f) Cooperativeness; ability to work with and for others.
- ✓ (g) *Effectiveness in developing and training employees.*

1

Sum of ratings 4Rated by W. L. Wilman

(Rating officer)

(Date) 11/28/41

Report to employee

On the whole, do you consider the department and attitude of this employee toward his work to be satisfactory? Yes

Reviewed by W. L. Wilman

(Reviewing officer)

(Date)

Rank of Rating Report to Employee

- 5 - 7 Excellent
- 3 - 5 Very Good
- 1 - 3 Good
- 10 - 12 Fair
- 13 - 15 Unsatisfactory

Significance

- Excellent within grade is higher pay policy.
- Very Good within grade is higher pay policy.
- Good within grade is higher pay policy.
- Fair within grade is higher pay policy.
- Unsatisfactory within grade is higher pay policy.

16-2000

Senator HENDRICKSON. What was the date of that promotion?

Mr. MORRIS. The promotion was in 1941.

What were your duties with the Monetary Research Division, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. For the first several years I worked on this question of injury under the antidumping clause of the Tariff Act.

Then they became more varied; I worked on the question of materials, then strategic materials, in case of war.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in all, how long were you with the Monetary Division of the Treasury Department?

Mr. ULLMANN. Except for the period when I was in the Army, I was with them until early 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when were you in the Army, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. From October 1942 to, I think, August of 1945. I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the first date? I missed that.

Mr. ULLMANN. October 1942.

Mr. MORRIS. From October 1942 until 1945, you were in the Army. Will you tell us your circumstances of going into the United States Army?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was drafted into the Army.

Mr. MORRIS. As a private?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes. I went to officers candidate school.

Mr. MORRIS. Did anyone aid you in going to officer candidate school?

Mr. ULLMANN. Not that I know of. I applied before a board and went before a board in the regiment.

Mr. MORRIS. What assignments did you have in the Army, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. After I got out of officer candidate school, I was assigned to the material and services in the headquarters, Air Corps.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was that?

Mr. ULLMANN. In Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. What other assignments did you have in the Army?

Mr. ULLMANN. That was pretty much all.

Mr. MORRIS. That is all?

Mr. ULLMANN. As an officer?

The CHAIRMAN. You were stationed at the Pentagon?

Mr. ULLMANN. Stationed at the Pentagon.

Mr. MORRIS. What rank did you achieve?

Mr. ULLMANN. Major.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in that position, did you have access to confidential and classified information?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question because of my privilege under the fifth amendment, not to be a witness against myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean if you truthfully answered that question it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. ULLMANN. It might.

Senator WATKINS. It seems to me we are entitled to have from the witness what his duties were and what his authority was. I don't think that would incriminate him, to state what he was doing and what information was available to him.

The CHAIRMAN. The question on which he invoked the fifth amendment was: "Did you handle classified information?"

Now, I think your question is proper if you want to find out what his general duties were, but the question directed to the witness is, Did he handle classified documents and information? And he refused to answer under the fifth amendment, and this committee recognizes his refusal to answer under the fifth amendment.

Senator WATKINS. What were your duties with respect to restricted matters, classified documents, and information?

Mr. ULLMANN. My duties in the Air Corps were to try and organize the statistics, for higher officers to expedite the flow of critical parts of airplanes or airplanes, to aid them in the general production program.

Senator WATKINS. That was restricted or classified matter?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds stated.

Senator WATKINS. You feel if you admitted that, or gave a truthful answer rather, that it might incriminate you to say whether or not it was classified?

Mr. ULLMANN. I have said it might.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Is it not a fact you were sent immediately to Air Corps Intelligence after your commission?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; it isn't.

Senator WELKER. Did you have anything to do whatsoever with the Intelligence?

Mr. ULLMANN. With Air Corps Intelligence?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. ULLMANN. Not what was officially known as Air Corps Intelligence.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman and Senator Welker, I have here a document which is an application for Federal employment in 1946 in which Mr. Ullmann gives a description of his duties. He says he was with Air Force supply, Administration, and general military subjects; supply and production planning of Air Force equipment, supplies, and accessories.

Now, in that position did you know when the designated D-day was for the invasion of France?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. You won't tell the committee that? All right. Let the record show that the witness declines to answer under the fifth amendment of the Constitution; that his answer might tend to incriminate him.

Mr. MORRIS. May that whole document be made a part of the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

<p>1. Organization General</p> <p>2. Branch Army</p> <p>3. Post San Diego</p> <p>4. Address San Diego, California</p> <p>5. Telephone San Diego 1-1111</p> <p>6. Personnel 1 - Secretary</p>	<p>7. Subject General</p> <p>8. Reference San Diego 1-1111</p> <p>9. Remarks San Diego 1-1111</p>
<p>1. Organization General</p> <p>2. Branch Army</p> <p>3. Post San Diego</p> <p>4. Address San Diego, California</p> <p>5. Telephone San Diego 1-1111</p> <p>6. Personnel 1 - Secretary</p>	<p>7. Subject General</p> <p>8. Reference San Diego 1-1111</p> <p>9. Remarks San Diego 1-1111</p>
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[illegible]

Mr. MORRIS. I have two documents which contain ratings on the work of Mr. Ullmann, dated March 31, 1942.

Another one, March 31, 1943, which covers the previous period.

Both ratings have "excellent" from Harry Dexter White.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

Standard Form No. 51 G. S. Form No. 51-212-212		REPORT OF REGULAR OR INTERIM PROBATIONARY-UNIT		Classification Symbol	
		EFFICIENCY RATING		6 (Series) (Class) (Unit)	
As of <u>March 31, 1943</u> based on performance during period from <u>March 11, 1942</u> to <u>January 28, 1943</u>		By <u>Wm. L. Ullmann</u> <u>Pr. Econ. Analyst</u> <u>Treasury Dept.</u>			
Office of the Secy. <u>Div. of Mon. Research</u>					
ON LINES BELOW MARK EMPLOYEE		1. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position. 2. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position. a. Do not rate on elements in title, except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions. b. Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning employees on all elements pertinent to the position whether in title or not. 3. Before rating, become thoroughly familiar with instructions in the rating manual.		CHECK ONE Administrative, supervisory, or planning <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>5</u> All other <input type="checkbox"/>	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> If adequate <input type="checkbox"/> If weak <input type="checkbox"/> If outstanding		(1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments. (2) Mechanical skill. (3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures. (4) Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work). (5) Attention to broad phases of assignments. (6) Attention to pertinent detail. (7) Accuracy of operations. (8) Accuracy of final results. (9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions. (10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts. (11) Industry. (12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments. (13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark based on production record?) (Yes or no) (14) Ability to organize his work. (15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others. (16) Cooperativeness. (17) Initiative. (18) Resourcefulness. (19) Dependability. (20) Physical fitness for the work.		(21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs. (22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs. (23) Effectiveness in devising procedures. (24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates. (25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates. (26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work. (27) Effectiveness in promoting high working morale. (28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs. (29) Effectiveness in setting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines. (30) Ability to make decisions. (31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to others.	
STANDARD		STANDARD		STANDARD	
All underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus. A majority of underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus. All underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks fully compensated by plus marks, or a majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks or underlined elements were compensated by plus marks on underlined elements. A majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks not fully compensated by plus marks. A majority of underlined elements marked minus.		Excellent Very good Good Fair Unsatisfactory		Numerical rating 1 2 or 3 4, 5, or 6 7 or 8 9	
On the whole, do you consider the conduct of this employee to be satisfactory? <u>Yes</u> (See back of form)					
Rated by <u>Wm. L. Ullmann</u> <u>Pr. Econ. Analyst</u> <u>March 31, 1943</u>					
Reviewed by _____					
Rating approved by efficiency rating committee _____		Report to employee _____			

Standard Form No. 1
April, 1934
U. S. G. P. Form, Cr. No. 28

**REF RT OF REGULAR / INTERIM /
PROBATIONARY - 1st C 1st C**

EFFICIENCY RATING

Classification Symbol
P 6
(Division) (Series) (Class)

As of March 31, 1942 based on performance during period from April 1, 1941 to March 31, 1942

William L. Ullmann Pr. Econ. Analyst Treasury Department
(Name of subject) (Title of position) (Branch)

Office of the Secretary Div. of Econ. Research
(Division) (Section) (Subsection of work)

ON LINES BELOW
MARK EMPLOYEE

✓ If adequate
- If weak
+ If outstanding

1. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position.
2. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position.
a. Do not rate on elements in *italic* except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions.
b. Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning employees on all elements pertinent to the position, whether in *italic* or not.
3. Before rating, become thoroughly familiar with instructions in the rating manual.

CHECK ONE:
Administrative, supervisory, or planning ☒
All other ☐

(1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.
(2) Mechanical skill.
(3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures.
(4) Promptness of work (agreement of arrangement and appearance of work).
(5) Attention to broad phases of assignments.
(6) Attention to pertinent detail.
(7) Accuracy of operations.
(8) Accuracy of final results.
(9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions.
(10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.
(11) Industry.
(12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.
(13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (In mark based on production record) (Yes or no)
(14) Ability to organize his work.
(15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.
(16) Cooperativeness.
(17) Initiative.
(18) Resourcefulness.
(19) Dependability.
(20) Physical fitness for the work.

(21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs.
(22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.
(23) Effectiveness in dictating procedures.
(24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.
(25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.
(26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.
(27) Effectiveness in promoting high working morale.
(28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.
(29) Effectiveness in setting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines.
(30) Ability to make decisions.
(31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.

STATE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED

(A) _____
(B) _____
(C) _____

STANDARD
Explanations must be explained on reverse side of this form

	Advisory rating	Numerical rating
All underlined elements marked plus, and no elements marked minus	Excellent	1
A majority of underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus	Very good	For 5
All underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks fully compensated by plus marks (or a majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks on underlined elements over-compensated by plus marks on underlined elements)	Good	4, 3, or 2
A majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks not fully compensated by plus marks	Fair	For 2
A majority of underlined elements marked minus	Unsatisfactory	1

On the whole, do you consider the conduct of this employee to be satisfactory? Yes (See back of form)
(Verbal)

Rated by W. L. Ullmann Director, Monetary Branch 4/1/42
(Signature of rating official) (Title) (Date)

Reviewed by _____
(Signature of reviewing official) (Title) (Date)

Rating approved by efficiency rating committee _____
(Date)

Report to employer _____
(Date) (A) (Verbal rating) (B) (Numerical rating)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have here also a document which gives a job description of Mr. Ullmann's work while he was in the Monetary Division. May that be read at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MANDEL. This is from the United States Civil Service Commission classification sheet dated November 8, 1941, and signed by Charles S. Bell, acting administrative assistant to the Secretary, for Mr. William Ludwig Ullmann.

DESCRIPTION OF DUTIES

Under general administrative supervision with wide latitude for independent or unreviewed action or decision as senior economic analyst performs unusually difficult and responsible professional work involved in performing research, making economic analyses and studies, and preparing memoranda and reports in one or more of the following fields:

(1) Economic, financial, and political conditions of foreign countries involving analysis of current financial data, country surveys of the domestic and international economic situation, and analysis of new developments for one of the following geographical areas: Latin America, Continental Europe, Far East, and British Empire;

(2) International investments including United States foreign investments, blocked and other involuntary investments, foreign holdings in the United States, foreign assets of the United Kingdom, and other Allied and Axis foreign assets.

(3) Foreign commercial policy involving such matters as dumping, Tariff Act and customs problems, countervailing duties, foreign discrimination, export control, strategic material, and other United States foreign-commerce problems.

(4) Exchange control, including statistics, economic information, and analysis of foreign-funds control in both this country and abroad with special emphasis upon analysis of information and statistics made available through foreign-funds control.

(5) International money and finance including gold, silver, exchange rates, capital movements, international monetary agreements, and foreign monetary systems—legislation.

(6) Banking and domestic finance including United States economic conditions, Treasury finance, and the national economy, currency and coinage, banking problems, monetary and banking legislation, and problems of inflation.

(7) Stabilization funds including both United States and foreign stabilization funds, stabilization operations, and international competitive position.

More specifically, incumbent performs such duties, as follows: Working independently except for occasional discussions with supervisor on objectives and unusual problems and on the basis of general assignments from supervisor or on own initiative without specific assignment, makes difficult and highly important studies consisting of both long-term comprehensive projects and short studies dealing with specific questions, problems, or events, such requiring individual responsibility for planning the extent of the study, outlining the scope of the work, determining methods of approach, discovering sources of material, establishing necessary contacts, gathering and selecting material, summarizing, compiling and analyzing data, interpreting data in significant economic, financial, political terms, and preparing adequate research reports and memoranda which contain analyses, conclusions, and recommendations as to the application of data; reviews diplomatic cables and consular reports, current writings of leading economists, items of interest in the foreign financial press and studies and speeches on economic, financial, monetary, and related problems, and writes for the Director memoranda containing abstracts, summaries, or comments on significant points, attends congressional debates and hearings and various conferences and meetings dealing with incumbent's particular field of work; analyzes, evaluates, criticizes, and comments on various proposals, schemes, or plans of an economic or financial nature, prepares answers to letters from Congressmen, business firms, and the general public relating to policies and factual data as regards the monetary functions of the Treasury Department; occasionally serves as a foreign observer of the Treasury or as a member of a delegation at foreign conferences; keeps abreast of latent economic, financial, political, monetary, and related developments involving studying cables, consular reports, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a fair statement of your job description, sir?

Mr. ULLMANN. That sounds like I was mighty busy.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a fair statement of your job description?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recognize parts of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do recognize parts of it?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as stated before.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. I noticed you testified that you had something to do with the strategic material in case of war while you were in the Monetary Division.

Could you help the committee by telling us what your activities were with respect to the strategic materials in the event of war?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall very much. I would make quick surveys as to copper. I remember one was the flow of high-octane gasoline to Japan before we were in the war because the Treasury had the copies of custom manifests and the Treasury was opposed to those shipments at that time.

Senator WELKER. Now, at the time you assumed those duties, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as stated before.

Senator WELKER. At the time you assumed those duties, were you engaged in espionage activities against the Government of the United States?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as stated before.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Frank Coe was your superior in the Monetary Division, was he not, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. At one time, I think he was. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. I notice in this application for Federal employment in 1946, you described yourself as an economic analyst, you headed up the economic research work on Germany and Eastern European countries.

Did you do that work?

Mr. ULLMANN. That was after the war.

The CHAIRMAN. You attended meetings and wrote recommendations on the question of financial policy and administration in Germany and Austria, prepared recommendations on exchange rates, commercial policy, financial and settlement pertaining to countries of Eastern Europe.

Does that refresh your recollection as to your duties?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. It is listed here the name and title of superior was Frank C. Coe.

Mr. ULLMANN. What was his title?

Mr. MORRIS. He was Director of Monetary Research.

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first meet Mr. Coe?

Mr. ULLMANN. After I came to the Treasury. He was there for a brief period.

Senator WELKER. Where did you meet him?

Mr. ULLMANN. At the Treasury Department.

Senator WELKER. Never met him at any other place?

Mr. ULLMANN. I understood the question was where did I first meet him?

Senator WELKER. Yes. You never met him at any other social event?

Mr. ULLMANN. As far as I know I never have.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, were you taken out of the Army at the request of Frank Coe?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recall receiving a letter on November 9, 1945, a letter dated November 9, 1945, which reads:

MY DEAR MR. ULLMANN: On the recommendation of Mr. Frank Coe, Director of Monetary Research, you are hereby returned to duty from military furlough and promoted from P-6, \$6,230 per annum to grade P-7, \$7,175 per annum, effective October 15, 1945.

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall the letter.

Senator WELKER. May I suggest that the exhibit be shown the witness and ask him whether or not it refreshes his memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you show the witness the exhibit just referred to?

Does it refresh your memory, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall.

Senator WELKER. You don't recall a letter telling you that you were freed from Army service, going back into the Government?

Mr. ULLMANN. It was normal formality. I don't recall the letter.

Senator WELKER. It is not a normal formality. There were many such soldiers that did not get such a letter. I am inquiring of you whether or not you have completely forgotten that very important matter?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall this particular letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this letter is signed by Paul E. Kelley, administrative assistant to the Secretary, addressed to Mr. William L. Ullmann, Economic Analyst, Division of Monetary Research, Washington, D. C., dated November 9, 1945. May it go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It may go in the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

NOVEMBER 9, 1945.

Mr. WILLIAM L. ULLMANN,

Economic Analyst, Division of Monetary Research,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. ULLMANN: On the recommendation of Mr. Frank Coe, Director of Monetary Research, you are hereby returned to duty from military furlough and promoted from grade P-6, \$6,230 per annum, to grade P-7, \$7,175 per annum, effective October 15, 1945.

By direction of the Secretary.

Very truly yours,

PAUL E. KELLEY,

Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

Mr. MORRIS. You worked under Harold Glasser, did you not, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that for the period 1946 to 1947?

Mr. ULLMANN. That sounds possible. I just don't remember the dates.

Mr. MORRIS. The records seems to indicate that you worked under Mr. Glasser from April 1, 1946, to March 31, 1947. It indicates also

that Mr. Glasser rated you "E"; that is E for excellent, at the place you were working.

When did you first meet Mr. Glasser, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. I met him when I went to work for the Treasury.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you had not met him previously?

Mr. ULLMANN. As far as I can recall I had not.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, Miss Bentley has testified before this committee that she received secret documents from Harry Dexter White through you and that these documents were turned over by her to Soviet Military Intelligence people.

Would you tell us whether or not that testimony was true testimony?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as stated previously.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever receive classified material from Harry Dexter White to be turned over to the Soviet Military Intelligence?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever receive any classified information from Frank Coe to be turned over to the Soviet Military Intelligence?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever receive any classified information from Harold Glasser to be transmitted and was transmitted by you to Soviet Intelligence?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever reproduce any classified Government documents in the basement of your home, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you maintain a photographic equipment laboratory in the basement of your home?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have a Graflex camera in your home?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you possess one at this time?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever possessed one?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean, Mr. Ullmann, that that might tend to incriminate you to tell this committee whether or not you ever owned a Graflex camera?

Mr. ULLMANN. It might.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever own any other kind of a camera?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever own any enlarger?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Or developing material or printing material connected with photography?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WATKINS. I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Watkins.

Senator WATKINS. Would you care to make any comment on the testimony of Miss Bentley with respect to you?

Mr. ULLMANN. I would not.

Senator WELKER. Is it a false or true accusation of Miss Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground as stated previously.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever drafted a will, Mr. Ullmann, drafted or executed a will?

Mr. ULLMANN. I started to draft one once.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall the final outcome.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, do you remember in executive session I showed you a photostatic copy of what was purported to be the last will and testament of William L. Ullmann, residing at 5515 30th Street NW.?

The CHAIRMAN. You did reside at 5515 30th Street NW.?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recall preparing that draft?

Mr. ULLMANN. I recall working on it, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that prepared by some attorney?

Mr. ULLMANN. I can't recall that exactly, but I think some attorney was helping me on it.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was that attorney?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't recall who it was?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't.

Senator WELKER. Did not you tell us it was an attorney in the Treasury Department?

Mr. ULLMANN. I said it might have been, and I think perhaps it was, but I am not sure of that.

Senator WELKER. Is that the only will you have ever executed in your lifetime?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. You mean to tell this committee that you have forgotten where you executed it, or what attorney helped you in the preparation of that document?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care again to see the instrument shown you in executive session, the draft of your will? Would you like to look it over again to refresh your memory?

Mr. ULLMANN. Well, I can look it over again.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Mr. Ullmann, who were the attorneys in the Treasury Department with whom you were closely acquainted?

Mr. ULLMANN. There were several attorneys in the General Counsel's office.

Senator HENDRICKSON. That does not answer the question. Who were they? Do you remember them?

Mr. ULLMANN. There was Joe DuBois.

Senator HENDRICKSON. DuBois?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes. I think his name was Josiah.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Would it be Josiah DuBois that drew this will for you?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't think so.

There was Gil Friedman.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Might he have drawn the will for you?

Mr. ULLMANN. He might have. That is possible.

An attorney named Locker. He might have helped me on it. I just don't recall.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Any one of last two names mentioned might have been the persons who helped you with the will; is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, they might have.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Where do they live now?

Mr. ULLMANN. I am not sure.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Where did they live then, in Washington?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you examine the will and see if it refreshes your memory?

Mr. ULLMANN. This might have been it, or this might be a draft of it, an earlier draft.

Senator WATKINS. You mean a copy?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; it might be an earlier draft. It is not signed I noticed.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read paragraph 2 of that will on page 1.

Mr. ULLMANN (reading):

I give and bequeath to my sister and brother-in-law, Frances and D. William DeArmand, jointly, my Graflex camera and darkroom equipment.

Mr. MORRIS. You did own a Graflex camera and darkroom equipment?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Watkins.

Senator WATKINS. You furnished whatever material was needed for the drafting of this will, did you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. For what?

Senator WATKINS. You furnished the material, the facts, the list of the properties you had and what you wanted done with it to the lawyer who drafted this will?

Mr. ULLMANN. In general; yes, sir.

Senator WATKINS. Will you say now you did not furnish the information with respect to this item 2, the Graflex camera?

Mr. ULLMANN. Excuse me just a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. You may consult your counsel before responding to the question.

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Senator WATKINS. You do that again because if you gave a truthful answer it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. ULLMANN. It might.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, under the terms of that will, if that was a will, executed will, you did appoint Nathan Gregory Silvermaster your executor, did you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall. Under the terms of this document here—

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ULLMANN. I think that is what it states.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; it does state that.

Mr. ULLMANN. It does state that?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may the whole document, which has been identified by Mr. Ullmann, be admitted and go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The material referred to follows:)

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

I, William L. Ullmann, residing at 5515 30th Street NW., Washington, D. C., being over the age of 21 years and being of sound and disposing mind and memory, do hereby declare this to be my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills by me heretofore made.

(1) I give and bequeath to my father and mother, jointly, the following legacies:

(a) All money at time of my death that I have on deposit in my checking and savings account at the Morris Plan Bank, Washington, D. C.

(b) All unpaid or accrued salary payments or other moneys owing or due to me at the time of my death, or to become due or owing to me at any future time from the United States Treasury Department, or any other person or firm.

(c) All United States Government bonds owned by me at the time of my death, including those now being held in safekeeping at the United States Treasury Department and at the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, registered under my War Department Serial No. O579514.

(2) I give and bequeath to my sister and brother-in-law, Frances and D. William DeArmand, jointly, my Graflex camera and darkroom equipment.

(3) I give and bequeath to my sister, Mrs. Frances DeArmand, all common stock owned by me at the time of my death in the Grandin Coast Lumber Co. and Venezuela Petroleum Corp., but if my sister shall die in my lifetime I give the same to my father and mother jointly.

(4) I give, devise, and bequeath to Mr. and Mrs. N. Gregory Silvermaster all my interest in the house at 5515 30th Street NW., Washington, D. C., including all articles of household or personal use or adornment in and about the house, except such articles or effects which I have specifically disposed of herein.

(5) All the rest, residue and remainder of my estate, real, personal or mixed, of whatever kind or character, or wheresoever situated, I give, devise, and bequeath to my father and mother jointly.

(6) I appoint N. Gregory Silvermaster the executor of this, my last will and testament, but, if he dies in my lifetime, I appoint his wife, Helen P. Silvermaster, executrix of this my last will and testament. I hereby excuse my executor or his successor from giving any probate or bond or bonds in order to qualify as such executor or executrix. I also give to my executor or his successor full power and authority to sell and convey any of my estate, real or personal, and to that end to execute and deliver good and sufficient deeds of conveyance and transfer. I further authorize my executor or his successor to pay all succession and inheritance and estate taxes from my estate as an administrative expense.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this ____ day of _____, 194__.

[SEAL.]

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by William L. Ullmann, the above-named testator, as and for his last will and testament, in the presence of us, who at his request, and in his presence, and in the presence of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names as attesting witnesses this ____ day of _____.

Residing at

Residing at

Senator WELKER. The document appoints N. Gregory Silvermaster as executor of this, his last will and testament, and that in the event—

he dies in my lifetime I appoint his wife, Helen T. Silvermaster, executrix of this, my last will and testament.

Does that refresh your memory, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; not particularly.

Senator WELKER. You want to tell this committee that you don't know whom you named as the executor or executrix of the last will and testament?

Mr. ULLMANN. I just don't recall this. I say it might have been.

Senator WATKINS. Did you finally execute the will and make it a legal document?

Mr. ULLMANN. I am not sure that I did.

Senator WATKINS. You are not sure you did not, either?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I am not sure I didn't, either.

Senator WATKINS. You do not have any memory on that?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't have.

Senator HENDRICKSON. What happened to the original document?

Mr. ULLMANN. I just don't recall.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Did you destroy it?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I don't think I did.

Senator HENDRICKSON. Do you have a will prepared today?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't think I have one.

Senator WELKER. If this is in existence, the original will, that is your final last will and testament, is it?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; it is; if it was executed I mean.

Senator HENDRICKSON. What prompted you to draw this will?

Mr. ULLMANN. What is the date on this will?

Mr. MORRIS. It is undated.

Mr. ULLMANN. I remember I discussed it at one time when I was going to go to Europe on a trip. I was going to fly.

Senator WELKER. What year was that?

Mr. ULLMANN. Early 1946.

Senator JOHNSTON. Whom did you discuss it with?

Mr. ULLMANN. I think it was one of these attorneys at the Treasury.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Johnston, I might add that this was taken from the Treasury Department files and there seemed to be an indication—I don't know why the will of an individual should be in the Treasury Department files if it were not in some support of Mr. Ullmann's statement that a Treasury Department lawyer had drawn it up for him.

Senator JOHNSTON. You did have an attorney there work on the will?

Mr. ULLMANN. I said I think I did consult one of the attorneys in the general counsel's office there.

The CHAIRMAN. The will was prepared by this attorney?

Mr. ULLMANN. As far as I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a common practice that the employees in the Treasury Department have their wills drawn on Government time and Government expense?

Mr. ULLMANN. I am not even sure it was on Government time and Government expense.

The CHAIRMAN. You just don't recall much about it.

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall too much about it.

Senator WELKER. Do you have any idea why a copy of this last will and testament of yours would be in the Treasury Department files?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I haven't.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you an officer at the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in 1944?

Mr. ULLMANN. Was I an officer?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ULLMANN. I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. You attended?

Mr. ULLMANN. I attended.

Mr. MORRIS. I have here, Mr. Ullmann, a compilation of officers of the Conference, members of the delegations, and officers of the secretariat, Bretton Woods, N. H., July 1944.

Mr. ULLMANN. I didn't know we were designated as officers.

Mr. MORRIS. You are listed as assistant secretary, Capt. William L. Ullmann. That is page 4. Assistant secretary, organization management at the Conference.

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You were a captain in the Air Force at that time, were you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How do you account for the fact that you were assistant secretary at the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in 1944?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was borrowed by the Treasury to go there.

Mr. MORRIS. You were taken out of the Army?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was borrowed.

The CHAIRMAN. Who borrowed you?

Mr. ULLMANN. I think it was Mr. White.

Mr. MORRIS. Solomon Adler was at that Conference, was he not?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall he was.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you not recall his being brought back from China to attend this particular conference? You know Solomon Adler, do you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; I know him.

Mr. MORRIS. What was Solomon Adler's position in the Treasury Department?

Mr. ULLMANN. He was an economist.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his title? What was his job? He was Treasury attaché in China for many years?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Before he went there can you tell us what work he did in the Treasury Department?

Mr. ULLMANN. As I recall, he worked on monetary and financial problems surrounding the Far East.

Mr. MORRIS. Then he went to China as the Treasury attaché and stayed there until 1949 and 1950, did he not?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't know the dates.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he ever transmit to you any classified material to be turned over to Soviet Military Intelligence?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as stated before.

Mr. MORRIS. Who else was at the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference at that time in your particular monetary division?

Mr. White was there, was he not?

Mr. ULLMANN. Mr. White was there.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Coe was there, was he not?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall that he was.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Coe is listed here as a technical secretary-general. That is the third group of officers right under the Secretary-General. He is the technical secretary-general. Frank Coe, Assistant Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration.

Mr. ULLMANN. He may have been.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that the only assignment that you had while you were in the United States Army to attend international conferences?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was borrowed to go to the San Francisco Conference in 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. United Nations?

Mr. ULLMANN. United Nations.

Mr. MORRIS. In what capacity did you go there?

Mr. ULLMANN. Assistant to Mr. White.

Mr. MORRIS. What was Mr. White's role there?

Mr. ULLMANN. He was supposed to give technical advice on the forming of the Economic and Social Council. He didn't stay for the duration of the Conference.

Mr. MORRIS. You did stay for the duration?

Mr. ULLMANN. No, I didn't.

Mr. MORRIS. You came back with him?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You flew out with him?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I think I flew out separately.

Mr. MORRIS. But you did come back with him?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a gentleman named Chao-ting Chi?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall meeting him.

Mr. MORRIS. He is listed here as Assistant Secretary-General of China at the Bretton Woods Conference. Do you recall meeting him at any time?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to read some of the testimony that Miss Bentley gave before this committee about Mr. Ullmann.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. This is Miss Bentley testifying, August 14, 1951—

Senator WELKER. First, may I ask a question. Maybe it has been asked, Mr. Chairman.

Have you ever met Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Senator WELKER. Or Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. The question put to Miss Bentley was:

Did you have a confidential Government record come to you from Harry Dexter White?

Miss BENTLEY. Many of them, all labeled from Harry because Soviet agents like to know who is providing what.

Question: How many copies of such reports would you receive?

Miss BENTLEY. How many copies?

Question: Would they come in duplicate?

Miss BENTLEY. Sometimes it was a carbon copy. Many, many times those documents were photographed in the Silvermaster cellar because they could not be spared.

Question: Would you give us a concrete example of your dealings with Harry Dexter White?

Miss BENTLEY. In the way of material?

Question: Yes, who gave it to you, for instance?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, in the early days Lud Ullmann who was then working in the Treasury used to bring it out. Sometimes Harry was leery about bringing them out himself. Sometimes it would be given to Bill Taylor.

Question: Who was Bill Taylor?

Miss BENTLEY. He was another Communist Party member in the Treasury who paid his dues and was a member of the Silvermaster group.

Question: Was Ullmann in the same category?

Miss BENTLEY. Ullmann was in the same category. I knew Ullmann as well as Silvermaster.

Question: Would Ullmann give you a report and tell you it was a report from Harry White?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; and he would also type on it "from Harry."

Question: What would you do?

Miss BENTLEY. I would take that back and when Mr. Golos was alive I would give it to him and after he passed on I would give it to the successor agent.

Would you care to comment in any way on that series of questions and answers?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I wouldn't.

Mr. MORRIS. For what reason?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a friend of Harry Dexter White, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. I am proud to say I was.

The CHAIRMAN. You drove him home at night usually, did you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. I wouldn't say usually; occasionally.

The CHAIRMAN. Many times you took him home?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he not live with you and Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. No, he didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't live in the same house?

Mr. ULLMANN. Harry White?

The CHAIRMAN. Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Silvermaster and I lived together.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the address?

Mr. ULLMANN. Northwest 30th Street.

The CHAIRMAN. The address referred to in the will?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Here in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, did you make a practice of driving White home every evening after work no matter how late this required you to stay at the office?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I made no practice of it.

Mr. MORRIS. You did on frequent occasions?

Mr. ULLMANN. I did maybe on some occasions. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe the impression is left here that you did live with Gregory Silvermaster. As a matter of fact, you still live with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, I do.

Senator WELKER. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

Senator WELKER. Was there a cellar in the Silvermaster home where you both lived?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground previously stated.

Senator WELKER. A basement?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground previously stated.

Senator WELKER. Would you care to tell us how many bedrooms you had in the house?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. How many years did you live in this same particular house with Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Where I live now?

The CHAIRMAN. You don't live there now, do you, sir?

Senator WELKER. At the address given in your will, how many years did you live there with Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't know, but I think probably 8 or 9.

Senator WELKER. Eight or nine years. You mean to tell this committee if you told us whether there were some bedrooms or a basement in the house that might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. ULLMANN. It might.

Senator WELKER. Did the house have any windows in it?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. That would not tend to incriminate you?

Senator HENDRICKSON. Did the house have a roof on it?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, it had.

Senator WELKER. Anybody else live with you there, you and Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Mrs. Silvermaster.

Senator WELKER. She was named the executrix in the event of his death in your will.

Can you tell the committee about any callers that you had? Did Mr. Coe call on you?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground previously stated.

Senator WELKER. Did Mr. White call on you there?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Adler call on you there?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did Harold Glasser call on you there?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. You know it to be a fact, do you not, that all of those witnesses have been before this committee and have refused to answer whether or not they were members of the Communist Party under the fifth amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. Correction there. Mr. Adler has not been before this committee.

Mr. ULLMANN. Was Mr. White here?

Senator WELKER. No, not this committee. I was in error on Mr. White.

But you know the others have appeared before this committee and, like you, declined to answer the question whether or not they were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't know that they have all been here.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that Nathan Gregory Silvermaster has been here?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. He told you about that; didn't he?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. After he returned, in April I think it was.

Now, would you care to tell the committee whom you talked to about the testimony here other than perhaps your counsel?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Senator WELKER. You would not care to tell?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Senator WELKER. Why?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. You did not talk to Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; I talked to Mr. Silvermaster.

Senator WELKER. Did he tell you what to expect in the way of questions from the committee?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. You were quite well briefed before you came here; were you not? Quite well briefed as to what to say; were you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, you may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, when you were in the Pentagon, did you frequently—in fact, did you make daily trips back to the Treasury Department?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. You would not tell us whether or not you went from the Pentagon over to the Treasury Department while you were an Air Force officer?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have lunch with Henrietta Klotz in the Washington Coffee Shop?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Now Miss Bentley testified, I think before the House committee, not before our committee, that—

Mr. Ullmann was in the Pentagon with the Air Corps and through his connection with General Hildring's office he had learned the date, and I remember distinctly because with that knowledge he was betting with a friend of his when D-day would be, and, of course, he won the bet since he knew it ahead of time.

Did you learn from General Hildring's office the date of D-day?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you transmit that information to any person you knew to be an agent of Soviet military intelligence?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have an assignment at Wright-Patterson Field in Dayton, Ohio?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was sent out there frequently.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the nature of your assignment out there?

Mr. ULLMANN. To find out about how to improve winter flight clothing or how much there was of it and so forth. I tried to change the high-altitude apparel for pilots at one time. Various questions of that type.

Mr. MORRIS. That information would be helpful to you in your Air Force planning work that you did?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first meet Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. After he came to Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. After he came to Washington?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. After you came to Washington, too?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know him before you worked in the Treasury Department?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, I knew him.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first meet him?

Mr. ULLMANN. In the summer of 1935.

Mr. MORRIS. That was when you were with the NRA?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of a cell that operated within the NRA?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Henry Shine?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. ULLMANN. I met Victor Perlo much later.

Mr. MORRIS. But not at that time. Now you have frequently given Mrs. Emily Blair as a reference, I notice in your papers. When did you first meet Mrs. Blair?

Mr. ULLMANN. When I was about 5 or 6 years old.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, they are old friends of yours?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Mr. Blair, too?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever take Mr. Blair down to the basement of your home?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground as stated previously.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I have a question?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Ullmann, in 1946, had you been ordered by an official of the Communist Party to strike against the Government of the United States—

Mr. ULLMANN. To do what?

Senator WELKER. To strike against the Government of the United States—would you have carried out that order?

Mr. ULLMANN. If I had been ordered to strike against the Government of the United States?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. ULLMANN. Would I have carried that order out? I think that is an outrageous question.

Senator WELKER. It may be outrageous, but you answer it, will you, sir?

Mr. ULLMANN. No, I wouldn't have.

Senator WELKER. You would not have carried it out. Why?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground previously stated.

Senator WELKER. When you were in the NRA you took an oath of office, a solemn oath of office in which you swore to your God to tell the truth, that you would support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that you would bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that you would take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purposes of evasion; that you would well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office in which you are about to enter, so help you God.

You took that oath before Mr. Lyman M. Moore, a notary public in the District of Columbia, did you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell the truth when you swore to that oath?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. That you would defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. At the time you subscribed to that oath were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds—

Senator WELKER. At the time you subscribed to that oath, Mr. Ullmann, were you actively engaged in espionage and sabotage against the Government of the United States?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hendrickson?

Senator HENDRICKSON. Mr. Ullmann, did you at any time, either as a member of the armed services or as a civilian employee of the Government, ever photograph any classified material?

Mr. ULLMANN. Senator, I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, you know the Russian language, do you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I don't.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to read from Mr. White's testimony. Does Mr. Silvermaster know Russian?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; he does

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. White is explaining why he had Messrs. Silvermaster and Ullmann at the Bretton Woods Conference. He gave an explanation he wanted an economist and a man who knew Russian to help in the interpretations of the discussions. He is obviously referring to Mr. Silvermaster and not you.

Mr. ULLMANN. I assume so.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't know Russian?

M. ULLMANN. I don't.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, I have a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker?

Senator WELKER. Where do you say you live now?

Mr. ULLMANN. Harvey Cedars, N. J.

Senator WELKER. You live with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; I do.

Senator WELKER. Is Mrs. Silvermaster alive?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. She lives there, too?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Are you and Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, or either of you separately, to your knowledge, engaged in espionage and sabotage against the Government of the United States of America as of this date?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ullmann, I notice that at the time you listed Lauchlin Currie as reference for various positions and various promotions. When did you first meet Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall. Probably around 1941, 1942, sometime back in there.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Currie ever transmit to you any classified material of any kind?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever transmit any classified material to Mr. Currie to be transmitted on to Soviet Intelligence?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever possess the knowledge that the United States Government was about to break the Russian code?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Ullmann, how long did you stay in the Treasury Department?

Mr. ULLMANN. I think it was until March of 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that March 12, 1947?

Mr. ULLMANN. I am not sure of the exact date.

Mr. MORRIS. I have here, Mr. Chairman, a letter signed by Ullmann, signed March 12, 1947. It is written to Harold Glasser, director of the Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR HAROLD: As you know, I have for some time been considering leaving Government service to enter private business. I have now reached a decision and, therefore, hereby tender my resignation to be effective as of the close of business Friday, March 21, 1947.

I need not tell you that I consider my long association with you and other members of the Division to have been a most pleasant and profitable one. It was because my resignation involved the termination of this association that I reached my decision with considerable reluctance.

I want to take this opportunity to wish you and other members of the Division every success.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM L. ULLMANN.

I offer you that, Mr. Ullmann, and ask you if you recognize that letter and the signature that appears at the bottom thereof?

Mr. ULLMANN. That looks like my signature.

Mr. MORRIS. That squares with your recollection when you left Treasury?

Mr. ULLMANN. Sometime around there.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever hear there was an FBI report disseminated to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of State and many other officials of the Government, including the President of the United States—

Mr. ULLMANN. No, I didn't.

Mr. MORRIS. To the effect you were a member of an undercover Communist ring?

Mr. ULLMANN. No, I never heard of it.

Senator JENNER. Mr. White never told you that?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony from that time, November 1945, the date of this memorandum, up to March 1947 which was a year and 5 months later, that you never had an inkling that such a report was being disseminated? That is your testimony?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Up to that date did you ever appear before a grand jury in connection with this testimony and information?

Mr. ULLMANN. I didn't.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you left the Treasury Department simply because you decided to go into private business?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And that you were not under loyalty charges of any kind?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't know of any.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, did you appear before any loyalty board?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. There was no information about you of any kind, that was derogatory security information in the possession of the executive branch of the Government about you?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may this letter of Mr. Ullmann's to Mr. Glasser go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
DIVISION OF MONETARY RESEARCH,
Washington 25, March 12, 1947.

MR. HAROLD GLASSER,
*Director, Division of Monetary Research,
Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR HAROLD: As you know, I have for some time been considering leaving Government service to enter private business. I have now reached a decision and, therefore, hereby tender my resignation, to be effective as of the close of business Friday, March 21, 1947.

I need not tell you that I consider my long association with you and other members of the Division to have been a most pleasant and profitable one. It was because my resignation involved the termination of this association that I reached my decision with considerable reluctance.

I want to take this opportunity to wish you and other members of the Division every success.

Sincerely yours,

W. L. ULLMANN.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Ullmann, on March 14, 1947, you signed a Treasury Department resignation in which, similar to your letter, heretofore produced in evidence, you say:

To the HONORABLE THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY:

SIR: I hereby tender my resignation from the position of economic analyst at a salary of \$8,179.50 per annum in the Division of Monetary Research to take effect March 21, c. o. b., 1947. Reasons: To enter private industry.

(Signed) WILLIAM L. ULLMANN.

Do you recall signing that?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall it.

Senator WELKER. Then do you recall at the bottom of this resignation there are these words:

Recommended for acceptance without prejudice, signed Mary C. Hall, March 14, 1947, Administrative Assistant to the Director of Monetary Research.

Who was Mary C. Hall?

Mr. ULLMANN. She was a woman who handled personnel and administrative matters.

Senator WELKER. Administrative assistant to Mr. White?

Mr. ULLMANN. Whoever was director at the time.

Senator WELKER. Do you know what the word "without prejudice" means?

Mr. ULLMANN. I think it is a governmental term.

Senator WELKER. A governmental term meaning you could come back at any time in good grace if you wanted to; is that right?

Mr. ULLMANN. As far as I know, it is.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that this exhibit be marked for identification and inserted as part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go in the record and become part of the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
March 14, 1947.

RESIGNATION

To the honorable the SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

SIR: I hereby tender my resignation from the position of Economic Analyst, at a salary of \$8,179.50 per annum, in the Division of Monetary Research to take effect March 21, c. o. b., 1947.

Reasons: To enter private industry.

Respectfully,

(Signed) WILLIAM L. ULLMANN.

Recommended for acceptance without prejudice.
March 14, 1947

MARY C. HALL,
Administrative Assistant to the Director of Monetary Research.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions at this time.

Senator HENDRICKSON. I have one I would like to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hendrickson?

Senator HENDRICKSON. Mr. Ullmann, what is the occupation of Mr. Gregory Silvermaster at the present time?

Mr. ULLMANN. He is my business partner.

Senator HENDRICKSON. You are in partnership and what do you do?

Mr. ULLMANN. Build houses.

Senator WELKER. How long have you been so engaged in building houses?

Mr. ULLMANN. Since early in 1947.

Senator WELKER. Have you built quite a number of them?

Mr. ULLMANN. Built some.

Senator WELKER. Some?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. How many?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't know exactly.

Senator WELKER. Would it be 2, 6, or a hundred?

Mr. ULLMANN. Probably 20 to 30.

Senator WELKER. Will you give me a little description of where your home is now that you live in with Mr. Silvermaster, where is it located?

Mr. ULLMANN. It is located in Harvey Cedars, N. J., immediately outside.

Senator WELKER. Is that near the ocean?

Mr. ULLMANN. Right on the ocean.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever have any visitors there from any foreign country call on you by marine surface vessel?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Watkins?

Senator WATKINS. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnston, any questions?

Senator JOHNSTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. No further questions, Mr. Ullmann. You may be excused.

This committee will meet again in executive session at 2:30.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I might say that we had asked former Secretary of Treasury John Snyder at 9 o'clock this morning if he could possibly be here tomorrow for a session because we have more records from the Attorney General; in other words, the records concerning Harold Glasser, Solomon Adler, Victor Perlo, and Frank Coe. They will go into the record tomorrow. We would like to have Mr. Snyder there.

He said he would like very much to appear before the committee but tomorrow will be inconvenient and he would suggest some other day when he could appear.

The CHAIRMAN. We should have him for an explanation of these records, but we will recess at this time and reconvene this afternoon in executive session to take up the Igor Gouzenko matter.

Tomorrow morning, we will have an executive session again at 9:30 and we will have an open session at 11:30.

Senator JOHNSTON. I would like to get into the record that former Secretary Snyder told me that he would be glad to come before this committee if you gave him sufficient notice. You would not have to subpoena him.

The CHAIRMAN. I called him by telephone and was unable to reach him, and sent him a telegram in Toledo. We have been in communication with his family here and we called him at 9 o'clock this morning and asked him if he could be here, and he said it would be inconvenient, but he would, later.

We have a full schedule for tomorrow and I don't know whether the committee will be able to sit Friday.

Senator JOHNSTON. I will have to go home Friday.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think we will have a session Friday.

We will stand in recess at this time.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., Wednesday, December 2, 1953, the hearing was recessed until 9:30 a. m. Thursday, December 3, 1953.)

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 12 o'clock noon, pursuant to notice, in the Old Supreme Court room, the Capitol, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee presiding).

Present: Senators Jenner, Welker, and Hendrickson.

Present also: Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; J. G. Sourwine, of Judiciary Committee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Robert McManus, professional staff member; and James Walter, professional staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have received from the Department of Justice, in response to our request, information which shows the dates in regard to the records of V. Frank Coe, Solomon Adler, and Victor Perlo, which were disseminated to the various executive branches of the agency.

In connection with Frank Coe, there is a limitation on this if you will notice in the letter we have received from the Justice Department. It reads:

The data regarding the dissemination of records mentioned herein were furnished to the Attorney General by the Federal Bureau of Investigation by memorandum dated August 4, 1948. The FBI has been requested to furnish any dissemination additional to the foregoing which may be contained in its reports, and these will be furnished to your committee as soon as received from the Bureau.

That is August 4, 1948.

This morning I called the Attorney General's office again asking what Communist records were disseminated after that date. They told us they are not yet ready; we will have then in the future.

On Frank Coe there was a summary dated February 21, 1946, wherein Coe was mentioned which was furnished by letter dated February 25, 1946, to General Vaughan.

Summary memorandum dated February 21, 1946, including mention of Coe furnished to Attorney General on February 23, 1946.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, including information on Coe furnished to Attorney General on February 25, 1946.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, including information on Coe furnished to Secretary of the Treasury by letter of March 4, 1946.

The CHAIRMAN. Our records show who was Attorney General, who was Secretary of State, and so forth, at that time?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Does our record also show how long Coe remained in Government? When did he leave the Federal Government?

Mr. MORRIS. I have that here.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that should become part of the record at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. In June 1946, Coe was the Director of Monetary Research. At that time he resigned from his job as Director of Monetary Research to join the staff of the International Monetary Fund. He served as Secretary of the International Monetary Fund until December 3, 1952, which was the day after he appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee and invoked his privilege under the fifth amendment in connection with questions regarding his then current espionage activities.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. That means from February 1946 until the date of his resignation in 1952 he remained in the employment of the Monetary Research as Director and on the International Monetary Fund, notwithstanding the reports furnished to the different agencies by the Department of Justice in 1946; is that correct?

The CHAIRMAN. Not only the Department of Justice but to General Vaughan.

Senator WELKER. By the Department of Justice to the other agencies?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The record so shows.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with the investigation conducted by this subcommittee last year into activities of American citizens employed by the United Nations, it was determined at that time that personnel problems affecting American citizens of the United Nations were handled by the State Department, but that personnel matters concerning American citizens working in the International Monetary Fund were handled by the Treasury Department.

The CHAIRMAN. These reports, as our records show, were sent to General Vaughan and General Vaughan has been before this committee and testified he transmitted all reports to the President of the United States. Also these reports were sent to the Attorney General and to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. MORRIS. There is one other rundown in our record. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover testified before this committee and told us of certain dates that he disseminated information on Frank Coe, and they will be available before this session is over.

The CHAIRMAN. We will complete the record when we get the information.

Mr. MORRIS. I have here a summary in regard to the position that Coe held in Government.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it should be read into the record.

Mr. MORRIS. From June 1934 to September 1934, he was Economic Consultant with the Treasury Department.

June 1936 to September 1936, Principal Economist, Division of Research and Statistics, Secretary's Office, Treasury.

April 1939 to September 1939, Principal Economist, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury.

September 1939 to July 1940, Economic Consultant, Federal Security Agency.

July 1940 to September 1940, Principal Economist, Advisory Commission to Council on National Defense.

September 1940 to February 1942, Assistant Director, Division of Monetary Research.

June 1941 to December 1941, Special Assistant to Ambassador Winant, London.

November 1941 to June 1942, Executive Secretary, Joint War Production Committee, United States and Canada.

February 1942 to June 1943, Assistant to Executive Director, Board of Economic Warfare.

June 1943 to November 1943, Assistant to Director, Office of Economic Warfare.

November 1943 to February 1945, Assistant Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration.

February 1945 to June 1946, Director of Monetary Research.

June 10, 1946 resignation to join staff of International Monetary Fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he was on the Monetary Fund in February of 1952?

Mr. MORRIS. To December 3, 1952.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Counsel, may we assume that from February 1945 to June 1946, up until the time of V. Frank Coe's resignation that he received promotions and increases in salary?

Mr. MORRIS. He certainly received an increase in salary and he held the position of Secretary of the International Monetary Fund.

Senator WELKER. That would be considered a promotion if he received an increase in salary?

The CHAIRMAN. I think his salary was \$20,000.

Mr. MORRIS. He was receiving a \$20,000 tax-free salary.

The CHAIRMAN. I would consider that a promotion and a raise in salary.

Mr. MORRIS. We have the case of Solomon Adler. We have received from the Department of Justice, in response to our inquiry when the Communist record was disseminated to various officials, the following rundown on Solomon Adler:

A summary dated February 21, 1946, containing mention of Adler furnished by letter of February 25, 1946, to General Harry H. Vaughan, military aide to the President.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, containing information regarding Adler furnished to Attorney General on February 23, 1946.

Summary dated July 25, 1946, containing information on Adler furnished to Attorney General by memorandum of July 25, 1946, pursuant to request of Attorney General by Clark M. Clifford, special counsel to the President. Departmental records show transmittal letter of July 25, 1946, from the Attorney General to Mr. Clifford. A copy was also furnished to the Attorney General for his information.

Summary dated October 21, 1946, containing allegations concerning Adler furnished by memorandum of December 16, 1946, to Mr. George Allen, then Presidential adviser.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, containing information on Adler furnished to Attorney General, February 23, 1946.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, containing information on Adler furnished to Attorney General by memorandum of February 25, 1946.

Summary dated October 21, 1946, containing information on Adler was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum, dated November 27, 1946. A copy of same was furnished to Mr. A. D. Vanech, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, on December 6, 1946, and two copies were made available to Assistant Attorney General T. Vincent Quinn on July 23, 1947. An additional copy to Mr. Quinn on August 7, 1947.

A summary of basic data from FBI files concerning Adler was forwarded to the Attorney General on March 7, 1947.

Report concerning Adler dated April 9, 1948, furnished to Assistant Attorney General Quinn on April 14, 1948.

Investigative reports furnished on Adler to Assistant Attorney General T. V. Quinn on July 22, 1948.

Summary containing information relating to Adler dated February 21, 1946, made available to the Secretary of the Treasury by letter dated March 4, 1946.

Summary containing information on Adler dated October 21, 1946, was furnished by memorandum of March 6, 1948, to Assistant Attorney General Quinn for delivery to Mr. Edward Foley, Treasury Department.

Investigative reports on Adler were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on July 22, 1948, for transfer to the Treasury Department under established procedure. As I say, anything that was transmitted after August 4, 1948, will be furnished at a later date.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I have a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. When did Solomon Adler leave Government service?

Mr. MORRIS. I have that. I have a letter from Solomon Adler, dated May 11, 1950.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date again?

Mr. MORRIS. May 11, 1950. It is addressed from 2721 Dumbarton Avenue:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 11, 1950.

Mr. GEORGE H. WILLIS,

United States Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GEORGE: I hereby submit my resignation from the Treasury Department as of the close of business today. I request payment into my account at the Riggs National Bank of all salary due me and of my unchallenged annual leave, and make claim for payment of additional annual leave which was improperly charged to me for the period August 4, 1948, to October 1, 1948. During that period I was performing services for the Treasury Department at the Treasury Department's direction, and such time may not properly be charged as annual leave.

Any correspondence should be addressed to me care of Milton Kramer, Esq., 1625 K Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

With best personal wishes,

Sincerely yours,

SOLOMON ADLER.

The CHAIRMAN. Does our record show who Solomon Adler was? Was he an American citizen?

Mr. MORRIS. I have a curriculum vitae here.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it should be read into the record.

Mr. MORRIS. This is a curriculum vitae taken from the files of the Treasury Department. It reads as follows:

Name: Solomon Adler.

Born: August 6, 1909, Leeds, England.

1927: Open scholarship in modern history at New College, Oxford, England.

1927-30: Undergraduate education at the University of Oxford.

1930: Bachelor of arts first-class honors in economics, philosophy, and politics, at Oxford University. Awarded the George Webb Medley senior research scholarship in economics (value, \$1,500 per annum) by the University of Oxford for 2 years. Awarded the Jevons scholarship in political economy of University College, London, for 1 year.

1930-33: Graduate work at the London School of Economics.

1932: Master of Science in Economics, University of London. Awarded the Sacher exhibition, New College, Oxford.

1933: Awarded the Francis Hutcheson silver medal for distinction in research by London School of Economics for master of science thesis on Wicksell's Theory of Interest and Its Influence.

1933 (January-June): Research assistant in money and banking to Professor Whale, the London School of Economics.

1933-34: Awarded an Acland fellowship to visit the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in 1934?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. [Reading:]

1935-36: Instructor in economics, People's Junior College, Chicago, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. Have we any record on the People's Junior College, Chicago, Ill.?

Mr. MORRIS. The dean was Harold Glasser.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a familiar name.

Mr. MORRIS. I think the records show that they resided together while they were at People's Junior College. [Reading:]

1936 (February-December): Associate economist on the New York staff of the National Research Project on Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes in Industrial Techniques.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not our records show that the National Research Project is where many of these folks started?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. We have a large section in our report showing many Communist agents entered the Government by means of the National Research Project. I think the committee has characterized it as a trapdoor.

The CHAIRMAN. He was at the right place at the right time.

Senator WELKER. May I inquire?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Counsel, does the record show from 1934 until May 11, 1950, Mr. Solomon Adler was employed by the Government of the United States and at no time was an American citizen?

Mr. MORRIS. No. He became an American citizen just at the time of his employment. I think it was 2 days before or after.

Senator WELKER. That was in 1934?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Senator WELKER. I wanted to get that complete because I was not here before.

Mr. MORRIS. I have some records here that I would like to put into the record. Suppose I put these in and then if there are any questions unanswered, I will try to answer them. May I do it that way?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I have a letter, dated January 16, 1936, reading as follows; and, Mr. Chairman, I might say our procedure has been that ordinarily when we put these records in, and in this case it came from the Treasury Department files, we try to have the witness here. We have made every effort to get Mr. Adler here over the past 3 years.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the record should show where he is.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Adler, to the best of our knowledge, is in England.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has he been there?

Mr. MORRIS. More than 3 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he lost his American citizenship?

Mr. MORRIS. The American Embassy in London was directed to pick up his passport because he was out of the country for more than 3 years. I understand he would be subject to denaturalization proceedings inasmuch as he is a naturalized citizen.

We have a record here that Adler was naturalized in 1940.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, he went into the employment of the Government in 1934 and worked in these important positions and did not even become a citizen of this country until 1940?

Mr. MORRIS. But he could have applied before that.

Senator WELKER. He could have but he did not.

Mr. MORRIS. It would take some years.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not take 6 years to become a citizen of this country.

Mr. MORRIS. Almost, Mr. Chairman.

This is a letter dated January 16, 1932, from Irving Kaplan to Mr. Solomon Adler, Peoples Institute, Chicago, Ill.:

DEAR MR. ADLER: It has been suggested to us that you may be interested in work on our project. If after reading the enclosed outline of the study you are interested, will you please write us indicating the nature of your interest, the function you would be interested in performing on this project, the nature of your training and experience, and the terms at which you would be available for work in Philadelphia.

Sincerely yours,

IRVING KAPLAN, *Associate Director.*

The CHAIRMAN. This letter was from Glasser?

Mr. MORRIS. No; this is from Kaplan.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Kaplan has been identified in our hearings as a Communist agent.

I have another letter, dated November 16, 1936, from 66 Perry Street, New York City:

DEAR MR. GOURVITCH: It is with great regret that I have to tender my resignation from the National Research project as from November 30. There is no need for me to say how much I have enjoyed working here with you, but the position I have been offered in the Treasury is so tempting that it is impossible for me to refuse it.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

SOLOMON ADLER.

The CHAIRMAN. It will go into the record and become a part of it.

Mr. MORRIS. I have a copy of a telegram from Solomon Adler to Irving Kaplan in which he said that he accepted the New York assignment. It reads as follows:

Accept New York assignment at salary stated. Ready to begin work Wednesday, February 26 at latest.

SOLOMON ADLER.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of it.

Senator WELKER. What is the date of that?

Mr. MORRIS. February 1936. Chronologically that should have come in before.

I have a letter dated May 29, 1942, addressed to a Mr. W. N. Thompson from H. D. White.

Subject: Promotion of Solomon Adler.

It is recommended that Mr. Adler be promoted from senior economic analyst, P-5, \$4,600 per annum, to principal economic analyst, P-6, at \$5,600 per annum.

Mr. Adler's duties and responsibilities have increased since his detail in Chungking, China. He is now acting as the Treasury's economic adviser to the United States member of the Chinese Currency Stabilization Board.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. I have here an application form filled out by Mr. Adler, and the purpose is to indicate Harold Glasser was his employer at the People's Junior College in Chicago from February 1935 to February 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT						
Date of Appointment	To (Month and year)	Position	Employer's address	Position and nature of work	Salary	Remarks
Jan. 1933	June 1933	London School of Econ.	Princeton St. Aldgate, London	Res. Asst.	\$5 per week	Awarded Traveling Fellowship
Feb. 1935	Feb. 1936	Harold Glasser, Peoples Jr. College	1501 Douglas Blvd., Chicago, Ill.	Instructor in Economics	\$22.00 per year	Awarded Gov. Post
Feb. 1936	*	Nat. Res. Project (NRA)	175 Fifth Ave., New York City	Associate Economist	\$2,000 per year	
Programs already listed from any previous position						
Other experience						
Awarded Travelling Fellowship to U. S. to study the economic effects of Government intervention, October 1933-June 1934						

Mr. MORRIS. I have here Mr. Adler's next promotion. This is a letter from the administrative assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury. His name is Charles S. Bell. There is no date on this letter, but it reads:

MY DEAR MR. ADLER: On the recommendation of Mr. Frank Coe, Director of Monetary Research, you are hereby promoted from grade P-7, \$6,500 per annum, to grade P-8, \$8,000 per annum, effective May 1, 1945.

By direction of the Secretary:

Very truly yours,

CHARLES S. BELL,

Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. There is an approval signed by F. Coe, or rather two approvals. It was also endorsed by Harold Glasser, Bureau or Division head.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of it. (The documents referred to follow:)

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION

PAGE:

TO DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL

Date:

Name: _____

From: _____ Bureau No: _____

Nature of Recommendation

CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER
LEGAL AUTHORITY

	FROM	TO	APPROPRIATION	
Position			DATE OF BIRTH	
Grade			DATE OF BIRTH	
Salary			DATE OF BIRTH	
Investing Div.			DATE OF BIRTH	
Organizational			DATE OF BIRTH	
Special Agent			DATE OF BIRTH	
Headquarters			DATE OF BIRTH	
Field Office			DATE OF BIRTH	
Apprentice			DATE OF BIRTH	
Allegation			DATE OF BIRTH	
Field or Dept.			DATE OF BIRTH	
Special Agent			DATE OF BIRTH	
Remarks			DATE OF BIRTH	
Justification			DATE OF BIRTH	

Rec'd

FLC

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT, MT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION

PAGE 1

TO DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL

Date: _____

CIA, SERVICE OR OTHER
LEGAL AUTHORITY

Name: _____

From: _____ Bureau No: _____

Nature of Recommendation: _____

	FROM	TO	APPROPRIATE
Position			
Grade			
Salary			
Branch or Div.			
Organization			
Subdivision			
Headquarters			
Place of Duty			
Appropriation			
Assignment			
Field or Detail			
Remarks	<p>Beijing, China</p>		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">NATURE OF POSITION</div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">NEW</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">ADDTL. INFO</div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">VICE VACANCY</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">VICE</div> </div>
Justification	<p style="font-size: 2em; transform: rotate(-15deg); opacity: 0.5;">No action</p>		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">SUBJECT TO RECOMMENDATION</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">DATE OF CAT.</div>

No action

Senator WELKER. May I interrogate counsel? Do you have any information with respect to the initials at the bottom of this letter that you just supplied, HWD?

Mr. MORRIS. I presume that is Harry White.

The CHAIRMAN. It looks like 4 or 5 sets of initials here. The exhibit will speak for itself.

Mr. MORRIS. I have here an oath executed by Mr. Adler July 18, 1946, at Washington, D. C., which indicates that Mr. Adler's place of employment at that time was the American Embassy in Nanking, China.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date?

Mr. MORRIS. July 18, 1946. It reads:

I, Solomon Adler, do hereby swear (or affirm) that I am not engaged in any strike against the Government of the United States and that I will not so engage while an employee of the Government of the United States; that I am not a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, and that I will not while a Government employee become a member of such an organization.

SOLOMON ADLER.

I thought that was an oath saying that he was never a Communist, but it is not.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record

Mr. MORRIS. Also from the files of Mr. Adler at the Treasury a summarization of some of the assignments that he had which would indicate the importance of his position while in China.

The CHAIRMAN. March or April 1946: Treasury proposal to assign Adler temporarily to Bangkok opposed by General Marshall on basis that Adler's presence in China required in view of financial discussions in progress.

July-August 1946: Called to Washington for consultation concerning pending surplus property and yuan expenditure settlement.

August 1946: Accompanied Thomas B. McCabe to China and served as financial adviser to his mission in concluding surplus property agreement of August 30, 1946.

July-August 1947: Prepared financial material for and consulted with the Wedemeyer Mission in China.

November 1947: Secretary Marshall announces that the Department of State is preparing a program of economic aid to China.

December 1947: Adler recalled to Washington for consultation, arrived December 16.

December 1947-February 1948: Consulted with Department of State on financial aspects of proposed aid to China, participated in NAC working group study of China program, participated in discussions with Chinese Technical Mission. Program of aid to China submitted to Congress, February 18, 1948.

February-August 1948: Participated in further discussions with Chinese Technical Mission, participated in preparation of NAC studies pertaining to financial aspects of ECA aid, participated in interagency discussions re United States position on settlement of Chinese war accounts.

August-November 1948: On annual leave.

November 1948-February 1949: Assigned to investigation of long-range outlook for United States foreign investment and effect of European exchange rates on balance of payments and dollar requirements.

February 1949-October 1949: On leave of absence; taught at Harvard during spring term, 1949.

October 1949 to present: Assigned to analysis of possible stages in progress toward convertibility of world currencies.

I want the record to show this summary from 1946 to the present time, or rather May 11, 1950, when he left the Government, that despite the information which was derogatory furnished by the Justice

Department this man not only remained on the payroll but was given some of the most important assignments this Government had to offer, with increased salary.

Mr. MORRIS. We have not been informed by the Justice Department as to what has been in these summaries, but we do have the testimony of Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley and several incidental things that have come up in our record. Yesterday the memorandum of Whittaker Chambers dated March 1945, mentioned Solomon Adler. Whittaker Chambers subsequently testified about him. Elizabeth Bentley has mentioned Solomon Adler in her open testimony. The date of her imparting the details of her espionage to the FBI was November 1945.

Senator WELKER. You say Chambers mentioned him and Elizabeth Bentley mentioned him. How? As a Communist?

Mr. MORRIS. As a member of the Communist Party. Elizabeth Bentley said she collected his dues through Silvermaster.

Senator Welker, in answer to your question, I have a letter which seems to be undated, again from the Treasury Department files. It is addressed to the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., and reads as follows:

GENTLEMEN: In connection with the establishment of my classified status with the Civil Service Commission I have been asked to execute a residence form. I have no voting residence and I consider the District of Columbia my legal residence.

I was naturalized in the United States District Court September 3, 1940, by petition No. 12497, and since then I have spent a great proportion of my time in Chungking, China, where I have been stationed on official business of the Treasury Department.

Very truly yours,

SOLOMON ADLER.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Since the last reference to Mr. Coe we have here Mr. Hoover's testimony about V. Frank Coe. I would like to put it into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You want this to go in in relation to the Coe testimony?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read that.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hoover said:

If in fact there was any agreement to move White from the Treasury Department to the International Monetary Fund to aid in the FBI investigation and to surround him with persons who were not security risks, then the agreement would have been broken very early, because Mr. Virginius Frank Coe, a close associate of Harry Dexter White, became the Secretary of the International Monetary Fund in June 1946, which position he held until December 3, 1952, when he was dismissed after invoking the fifth amendment in an appearance before this committee last December. It is particularly significant that he declined to answer questions regarding his relationship with White. Information on Coe had been furnished to the White House as early as February 25, 1946; to the Attorney General, February 23, 1946, and February 25, 1946; and to the Treasury Department as early as March 4, 1946.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the FBI called to the attention of the appropriate authorities the facts, as alleged by reliable sources, which were substantial in pointing to a security risk, as they occurred. It is equally clear that the FBI did not depart from its traditional position of making no evaluation, and was not a party to any agreement to keep White in public service.

This is in answer to the question about the nature of the summary on Coe that was sent on to the proper agency.

I have here a Personnel Division position description in regard to Solomon Adler executed on February 21, 1941. The several things that are noted here show his immediate superior was H. D. White. "The name of the person who assigned your work to you," as it is phrased here, "H. D. White" and the name and official title of the reviewer of "your work" that is given as H. D. White and V. Frank Coe. May this go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It will go into the record and become a part of it. (The document referred to follows:)

PERSONNEL DIVISION UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY			PERSONNEL DIVISION UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY	
1. Name of incumbent, surname, given, if married or changed, and maiden, or alias: Solomon Adler			4. Office or Bureau: The Secretary's Office	
2. Present title (if any): Economic Analyst			5. Place of employment: Washington, D. C. U. S. Treasury Building	
3. Current salary of incumbent: \$3,500 (year, base)			6. (If any) (year, base)	
NAME TO BE PRINTED IN IT (IN FULL) POSITION				
7. When he/she was first appointed, transferred, promoted, or otherwise changed, and given an opportunity to be heard, the approximate amount of the devoted service:				
NAME OF JOB			PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL TIME	
Economic Analyst, U. S. Department of the Treasury, Office of the Secretary			25	
Economic Analyst, U. S. Department of the Treasury, Office of the Secretary			25	
Economic Analyst, U. S. Department of the Treasury, Office of the Secretary			25	
Economic Analyst, U. S. Department of the Treasury, Office of the Secretary			25	
Economic Analyst, U. S. Department of the Treasury, Office of the Secretary			25	
Economic Analyst, U. S. Department of the Treasury, Office of the Secretary			25	

8. During the past year, or other period, describe briefly the work done in the office, and the approximate amount of the devoted service:	
The work done in the office during the past year has been concentrated on the economic situation of Great Britain and the British Empire, and the economic situation in Great Britain and the British Empire. The work has been concentrated on the foreign trade and foreign trade policies, balance of payments, foreign investment and foreign assets, foreign exchange and foreign capital, and the domestic economic situation of Great Britain and the British Empire. Most of the work on the British Empire, which has been concentrated on Great Britain and Canada, and the foreign trade and foreign trade policies with the U. S. and the rest of the Empire. South Africa is dealt with with special reference to gold, and India with special reference to silver. More intensive analysis of the rest of the British Empire is being conducted in view of the possibility of our having to deal with them in the future.	

[illegible][illegible]

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT WASHINGTON, D. C.		50290
August 18, 1940		
Allen, Solomon		
Division of Monetary Research		
Change in classification		
Assoc. Economic Analyst 10-12 \$3,800 per annum	Economic Analyst P-4 \$3,800 per annum	9-6-09
Monetary Research	Monetary Research	None
Washington, D. C.	Washington, D. C.	
Exchange Stabilization Fund Dept.	Exchange Stabilization Fund Dept.	
August 18, 1940		
Change in classification to conform with duties performed.		None
FOR USE OF DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL, TREASURY DEPARTMENT		1. F. C. 2

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT WASHINGTON, D. C.		Page 14320
PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION		
TO DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL		Date March 16, 1941
Name Adler, Solomon		OF LINE AND LINE CLASSIFICATION
From Division of Monetary Research		Bureau No.
Nature of Recommendation Change in status-increase in grade and salary		
Present Position Economic Analyst	Proposed Position Economic Analyst	Grade ESPR
Pay P-4	Pay P-4	
Salary \$3800 per annum	Salary \$4500 per annum	6-6-09
Present Division Division of Monetary Research	Proposed Division Division of Monetary Research	N. Y.
Present Office Washington, D. C.	Proposed Office Washington, D. C.	N. Y.
Present Fund Exchange Stabilization Fund	Proposed Fund Exchange Stabilization Fund	
Present Dept. Dept.	Proposed Dept. Dept.	
Effective Date March 16, 1941		
Remarks Change in classification to conform with duties performed.		No
FOR USE OF DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL, TREASURY DEPARTMENT		

Form 230—(April 1955)
U.S. Civil Service Commission

If salaries were available		
Salary	Step	Grade

SERVICE RATING FORM

Read instructions on back of this form.

Name _____
Department _____

(Placed)
(Written)
(Signed)
(Initialed)

On form below mark employee:
 If neither better nor as good.
 If worse, write:
 - If in good point.

- Underline the elements which are especially important in the position.
- Mark unsatisfactory employees on all elements except those in *italics*.
- Mark satisfactory employees on all elements.

In boxes below rate employee:
 1 or 2 if Excellent,
 3 or 4 if Very Good,
 5 or 6 if Good,
 7 or 8 if Fair,
 9 or 10 if Unsatisfactory.

I. QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + (a) Thoroughness; adequacy of results. - (b) General dependability; accuracy of results. - (c) Technical skill with which the important procedures or instruments are employed in performing his duties. + (d) Original contributions to method or knowledge. - (e) Effectiveness in getting good work done by his unit. 	2
--	---

II. PRODUCTIVENESS

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a) Amount of work accomplished. - (b) Application of energy, interest, and technical resources to duties; industry. - (c) Effectiveness in planning so as to utilize time to best advantage. + (d) Completing assignments; making progress on assigned projects. + (e) Composing adequate reports or other required writings. - (f) <i>Effectiveness in securing adequate material from his unit.</i> 	3
---	---

III. QUALIFICATIONS SHOWN ON JOB

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a) Knowledge of particular field of work and of the fundamentals on which it is based. + (b) Analytical ability; constructive reasoning in the field of special situation. - (c) Scientific or professional attitude; fairness; freedom from bias. - (d) Judgment; sense of proportion; common sense. - (e) Initiative; resourcefulness; ability to grow. - (f) Cooperativeness; ability to work with and for others. - (g) <i>Effectiveness in developing and training employees.</i> 	1
---	---

Rated by: William J. Williams Title: Chief Clerk

Reviewed by: V.F.G.B. Date: 11/11/51

(Supervising Officer) (Unit)

Sum of ratings 6

Report to employee

On the whole, do you consider the department and attitude of this employee toward his work to be satisfactory? Yes

(Answer "No" or "Satisfactory")

Mean of Ratings	Rating to Employee	Remarks
3	Satisfactory	Employee within acceptable regularity.
4-5	Fairly Good	Employee within grade or within salary.
6-7	Good	Employee above the grade, where it shows a bonus, within the limits of budgeted wage steps.
8-9	Fair	Employee at top of three lowest salary.
9-10	Unsatisfactory	Dismiss from service or transfer.

Mr. MORRIS. The next name we have is Victor Perlo. We have a summary received from the FBI on Perlo. In connection with Perlo, he has been identified as a member of a Communist cell by three witnesses before this committee: Whittaker Chambers, Nathaniel Weyl, and Elizabeth Bentley.

Perlo is mentioned in the letter of November 8, 1945, to General Vaughan to which the Attorney General referred in his testimony of November 17, 1953.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, containing information on Perlo was furnished to the Attorney General on February 23, 1946.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, mentioning Perlo was furnished to General Vaughan by letter of February 25, 1946.

Summary dated March 5, 1946, containing information on Perlo was furnished to Admiral Leahy on March 7, 1946.

Summary dated February 6, 1946, containing reference to Perlo was furnished to the Attorney General on February 7, 1946.

Summary dated July 25, 1946, containing information on Perlo was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated July 25, 1946, pursuant to request of the Attorney General by Clark M. Clifford. Department files show transmittal letter to Mr. Clifford of July 25, 1946.

Summary dated October 21, 1946, containing reference to Perlo was furnished by letter dated December 16, 1946, to Mr. George Allen, then Presidential adviser.

Summary dated October 21, 1946, containing information regarding Perlo was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum of November 27, 1946, and to special assistant to the Attorney General A. D. Vanech by memorandum dated December 6, 1946.

Summary of basic data regarding Perlo was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum of March 7, 1947.

Summary dated February 21, 1946, containing information regarding Perlo was furnished to the Secretary of the Treasury by letter dated March 4, 1946.

Memorandum dated September 6, 1946, concerning Perlo was personally delivered on September 12, 1946, to Mr. Lawson Moyer, Personnel Investigation Section, Treasury Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Does our record show when Mr. Perlo first went with the Government?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

September 13, 1933, he was special assistant, National Recovery Administration, \$2,300.

June 5, 1935, assistant statistician, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, \$2,600.

September 18, 1939, expert, Office of the Secretary of Commerce, \$4,000.

November 1, 1940, principal economic analyst, Council of National Defense Advisory Committee, \$5,600.

December 11, 1942, head economist, Office of Price Administration, \$6,500.

February 17, 1943, head financial economist, Office of Production, Vice Chairman, War Production Board, \$6,500.

October 18, 1944, economist, Office of Director, Bureau of Planning and Statistics, War Production Board, \$6,500.

May 1, 1945, economist, War Production Board, Office, Bureau of Program and Statistics, War Production Board, \$6,750.

December 17, 1945, economic analyst, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department, \$7,437.50.

March 27, 1947, resignation as economic analyst, \$8,778, to accept position with Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

This was an international organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Again this man remained in Government from 1933 to 1947 in face of these various reports and summaries forwarded to the executive branch of government. He continued to remain in

government, received promotions and an increase in salary. Am I correct?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

There is one other thing in connection with that data. The covering letter from the Attorney General's Office mentions that the report of November 27, 1945, which the Attorney General referred to in his testimony of November 17, 1953, contains references to Solomon Adler, Harold Glasser, and Victor Perlo. So that will be an additional listing in the data of those three people.

In connection with the Harold Glasser exchange with a Mr. H. L. Lurie, which was introduced into the record about 10 days ago, I called Mr. Lurie to ask about the advisability and need for his testimony in connection with those letters. He has written the following letter which I would like to read to you at this time:

DECEMBER 2, 1953.

Mr. ROBERT MORRIS,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR Mr. MORRIS: You telephoned to me last night asking for a statement from me on the relationship of our organization to Mr. Harold Glasser.

In response to that request, I am enclosing a recent statement made by our president, Mr. Julian Freeman, of Indianapolis, at the time of our general assembly which was being held in Cleveland. The information given in that statement corresponds with my own knowledge of the fact.

The only information I can add that would seem to be relevant is as follows: On December 18, 1947, we addressed a letter to Mr. John W. Snyder, then Secretary of the Treasury, and to Dean Acheson, at that time in private law practice, asking for reference on Mr. Glasser who had applied to us for the position of research economist. I am enclosing a copy of that letter.

Mr. Acheson replied under date of December 24, 1947, and Mr. Snyder replied under date of December 26, 1947.

On August 3, 1948, following the charges made about Mr. Glasser which had not previously come to our attention, I wrote again to Secretary of the Treasury. A copy of my letter is enclosed. Mr. Snyder replied to this letter on August 10, 1948.

Copies of letters I received from Mr. Snyder and from Mr. Acheson have been published in the hearings of your committee. Since replies to letters of reference are requested on a confidential basis, our organization has not released these replies but they have been made available to your committee perhaps from the files of the Department of the Treasury or from other sources.

If there is any further information which you would like to have, please let me know.

Yours truly,

H. L. LURIE, *Executive Director.*

The CHAIRMAN. Inasmuch as Mr. Lurie has set out here all the information that we needed for our committee to complete our files, I see no need to call Mr. Lurie as a witness before this committee. I think the committee should write Mr. Lurie and thank him for his cooperation in this matter.

Mr. MORRIS. He has adverted in those letters to a release given out by his organization of November 20, 1953. It reads:

STATEMENT BY JULIAN FREEMAN, PRESIDENT, COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATION AND WELFARE FUND

I have been asked for information about the relationship of Harold Glasser and Harry Dexter White to the C. J. F. W. F. These are the facts:

In 1947, with the continuing increase in the volume of philanthropic aid provided by American Jewish philanthropists for Europe and Israel, it was felt that an independent report and analytical service on the work of Jewish philanthropic agencies operating in these areas should be set up to aid in achieving maximum

effectiveness of programs. Some initial exploratory studies were made for the council by Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel.

Accordingly, it was felt desirable to organize a larger supervisory committee of technical experts composed of economists and officials of the national agencies involved in these programs and some professional community executives to survey the entire situation and to recommend to us the types of studies which would be most helpful in providing the needed information.

Dr. Isador Lubin, former head of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and later with the United Nations, consented to serve as chairman on this group of advisers. Other persons who served at various times with the committee include: Dr. Moses Abramovitz, of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Dr. Salo Baron, professor of history at Columbia University.

Dr. Louis Dublin, at that time a vice president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., and now retired.

Oscar Gass, economic consultant.

Samuel A. Goldsmith, executive director of the Jewish Federation of Chicago.

Dr. William Haber, professor of economics at the University of Michigan.

A. D. J. Kaplan, economist with the Brookings Institution.

Henry Montor, who was then executive vice chairman of the United Jewish Appeal and is now professional head of the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel.

Robert Nathan, economic consultant.

Dr. Nathan Reich, professor of economics at Hunter College.

Dr. Martin Rosenbluth, at that time a financial adviser to the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Isadore Sobeloff, executive director of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit.

Harry Greenstein, executive director of the Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore and formerly adviser on Jewish affairs to the United States military government in Germany.

John Slawson, executive director of the American Jewish Committee.

Moses Leavitt, executive director of the Joint Distribution Committee.

Harry Dexter White worked under this committee to outline the specific types of additional studies that would be most appropriate and helpful to the projected Institute on Overseas Studies. He served on a part-time basis for these projects alone from August 15, 1947, to early in October 1947. At that time he suffered a heart attack which invalidated him for a period of 6 months, which made it impossible for him to complete the assignment. The council then turned to the advisory committee for continuing help in planning and setting up the Institute on Overseas Studies. For this assignment Mr. Harold Glasser was chosen from a group of economists submitted for the Technical Advisory Committee. We cleared his references with Mr. John W. Snyder, the then Secretary of the Treasury; Dean Acheson, then out of Government service, and others. He was highly recommended to us as a qualified economist and able research worker. Mr. White did not suggest Mr. Glasser for the post, but in response to the letters sent out on behalf of the committee indicated that Mr. Glasser was a qualified economist. He went to work for the council on January 1, 1948.

When Miss Elizabeth Bentley testified before a congressional committee, about 6 months later we wrote to Mr. Snyder expressing our qualms at these charges, and asked for an additional statement on Mr. Glasser. Mr. Snyder replied, reaffirming his original endorsement. Mr. Glasser was carrying out his assignment with great ability and was producing successful results.

In April of this year Mr. Glasser testified before the Jenner committee. To our knowledge this is the first time that Mr. Glasser was called to testify before a congressional committee of this nature. Because of this publicity, he felt that his continuing employment might be embarrassing to the council and he, therefore, tendered his resignation. The responsible officers and executive committee of the council considered this request at several meetings. Following full consideration it was decided in June 1953 to accept Mr. Glasser's resignation, effective as of September 15. This was later confirmed by the council's board of directors.

In his work with the council, Mr. Glasser compiled an exceptionally fine record as Director of the Overseas Institute. His objective and impartial studies have been helpful to the agencies concerned in analyzing the role of foreign exchange in Israel's economy, development of agriculture, vocational training, and other elements in his constructive solution of refugee problems in Europe and Israel.

The CHAIRMAN. That may go into the record and become a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no other business at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further business to come before the committee, we will adjourn. Senator Hendrickson? Senator Welker? If not, we will close.

Mr. MORRIS. I have a few more files concerning Mr. Adler that I would like to go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You may put them into the record and they will become a part of the record.

(The documents referred to follow:)

Standard Form No. 21
April, June, 1, 1942
U. S. G. Dept. Civil Service

RECORD OF EFFICIENCY RATING

REGULAR (X) INTERIM ()
PROBATIONARY - 1st () 2nd ()

Classification Symbols
(Number) (Grade) (Class)

As of _____ based on performance during period from _____ to _____

(Name of employee) (Title of position) (Bureau)

(Location) (Section) (Subsection or unit) (Field office)

ON LINE BELOW MARK EMPLOYEE	1. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position. 2. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position. a. Do not rate on elements in <i>italic</i> except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions. b. Rate all initiative, supervisory, and planning employees on all elements pertinent to the position, whether in <i>italic</i> or not. 3. Before rating, become thoroughly familiar with instructions in the rating manual.	CHECK ONE: Administrative, supervisory, or planning <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> All others <input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> If adequate	(1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs.
<input type="checkbox"/> If weak	(2) Mechanical skill.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> If outstanding	(3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (23) Effectiveness in developing procedures.
	(4) Promptness of work (appropriateness of arrangement and arrangement of work).	<input type="checkbox"/> (24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.
	(5) Attention to broad phases of assignments.	<input type="checkbox"/> (25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.
	(6) Attention to pertinent detail.	<input type="checkbox"/> (26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.
	(7) Accuracy of operations.	<input type="checkbox"/> (27) Effectiveness in producing high working morale.
	(8) Awareness of final results.	<input type="checkbox"/> (28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.
	(9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions.	<input type="checkbox"/> (29) Effectiveness in getting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines.
	(10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (30) Ability to make decisions.
	(11) Initiative.	<input type="checkbox"/> (31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.
	(12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.	
	(13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (If work based on production record, <i>mark</i> .)	
	(14) Ability to organize his work. (If <i>yes</i> or <i>no</i> .)	
	(15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.	
	(16) Cooperativeness.	
	(17) Initiative.	
	(18) Resourcefulness.	
	(19) Dependability.	
	(20) Physical fitness for the work.	

STATE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED

(A) _____
(B) _____
(C) _____

REMARKS

Remarks must be explained on reverse side of this form

Remarks	Advisive rating	Nonadvisive rating
All underlined elements marked (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) marked (1st)	Excellent	1
A majority of underlined elements marked (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) marked (1st)	Very good	2 or 3
All underlined elements marked (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) marked (1st) and a majority of underlined elements marked (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) marked (1st)	Good	4, 5, or 6
A majority of underlined elements marked (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) marked (1st) and a majority of underlined elements marked (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) marked (1st)	Fair	7 or 8
A majority of underlined elements marked (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) marked (1st)	Unsatisfactory	9

On the whole, do you consider the product of this employee to be satisfactory? ☒ Yes (See back of form)
☐ No

Rated by William T. Williams (Signature of Rating Official) 6-1-42 (Date)

Reviewed by Director (Signature of Reviewing Official) 6-17-42 (Date)

Rating approved by: efficiency rating committee (Initials) Report to employee: (Initials)

c.c.13

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION

PAGE 1

TO DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL

Date: 10/15/1943

Name: Chen, WilsonCIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER
LEGAL AUTHORITYFrom: Division of Economic Warfare Bureau No:

Nature of Recommendation:

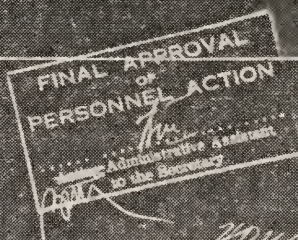
	FROM	TO	APPROPRIATION
Position	1st Assistant Secretary		
Grade	GS-11		
Salary	\$4,000.00		
Bureau or Div.	Division of Economic Warfare		
Organizational Subdivision			
Headquarters	Washington, D. C.		
Post of Duty	Administrative Assistant		
Appropriation			
Allowance			
Field or Dept.			

EFFECTIVE: 10/15/1943 (this date includes annual leave)

Remarks:

Mr. Chen has been appointed alternate member of the Chinese Civilian Control Board. It is not known if he will secure a resignation.

Justification:



DATE OF RECOMMENDATION

10/15/43

DATE OF DATE

Bureau or Division Head

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTER OFFICE COMMUNICATION

DATE December 22, 1943

TO Mr. E. H. Thompson

FROM H. B. White *WBB*

Attached hereto is worksheet recommending the reinstatement of Mr. Solomon Adler as a Chief Economic Analyst, P-3, \$4500 per annum, in the Division of Monetary Research and payable from the Exchange Stabilization Fund.

Mr. Adler was sent to Chungking, China, the latter part of 1941 as the Treasury's economic adviser to the United States member of the Chinese Stabilization Board. In February 1943 he was appointed alternate American member of the Board and accordingly taken off of our rolls. His status at that time was P-6, \$5600.

It is now our desire to reinstate Mr. Adler at the higher level.

c.c.13

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION

PAGE:

TO DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL

Date:

Name: _____

From: _____ Bureau No: _____

Nature of Recommendation:

CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER
LEGAL AUTHORITY

III

	FROM	TO	APPROPRIATION
Position			
Grade			
Salary			
History of Div. Organizational Subdivisions			DATE OF BIRTH
Headquarters			LEGAL RESIDENCE
Post of Duty			SEX
Appropriation			RACE
Altitude			NATURE OF POSITION
Field or Dept.			NEW
			ADULT. ISSUED
			VICE VACANCY
			VICE
EFFECTIVE Remarks:			
Justification:			SUBJECT TO RETIREMENT ACT
			DATE OF OATH

sub Brell
the
2/2/41

Standard Form No. 11, 11-20-30
Revised Dec. 1943
G. & C. Corp. Civ. Div. 404

Form assigned
Revised Dec. 1943
Approved October 22, 1943

REPORT OF EFFICIENCY RATING

ADMINISTRATIVE-UNOFFICIAL
OFFICIAL
REGULAR
SPECIAL
EXPERIMENTAL or TRIAL PERIOD

As of _____ based on performance during period from _____ to _____

(Name of employee) _____ (Title of position, grade, and grade)

(Occupation: Indicate branch, division, section, or field station)

ON LINE BELOW MARK EMPLOYEE	1. Study the instructions in the Rating Official's Guide, U. S. G. Form No. 2824A. 2. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position. 3. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position. a. Do not rate on elements in <i>italic</i> except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions. b. Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning functions on elements in <i>italics</i> .	CHECK ONE: Administrative, supervisory, or planning <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> All others <input type="checkbox"/>
✓ If adequate		
+ If weak		
— If outstanding		

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>— (1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.</p> <p>— (2) Mechanical skill.</p> <p>— (3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures.</p> <p>— (4) Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work).</p> <p>— (5) Attention to final phases of assignments.</p> <p>— (6) Attention to pertinent detail.</p> <p>— (7) Accuracy of operations.</p> <p>— (8) Accuracy of final results.</p> <p>— (9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions.</p> <p>— (10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.</p> <p>— (11) Industry.</p> <p>— (12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.</p> <p>— (13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark based on production records? (Yes or no) _____)</p> <p>— (14) Ability to organize his work.</p> <p>— (15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.</p> <p>— (16) Cooperativeness.</p> <p>— (17) Initiative.</p> <p>— (18) Resourcefulness.</p> <p>— (19) Dependability.</p> <p>— (20) Physical fitness for the work.</p> | <p>— (21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs.</p> <p>— (22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.</p> <p>— (23) Effectiveness in devising procedures.</p> <p>— (24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.</p> <p>— (25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.</p> <p>— (26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.</p> <p>— (27) Effectiveness in promoting high working morale.</p> <p>— (28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.</p> <p>— (29) Effectiveness in getting and obtaining subordinates to meet limits and deadlines.</p> <p>— (30) Ability to make decisions.</p> <p>— (31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.</p> |
|--|---|

WRITE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED

- (A) _____
- (B) _____
- (C) _____

STANDARD

Distinctions must be explained on reverse side of this form.

Distinctions	Adjective ratings	Rating official
Five marks on all underlined elements, and no minus marks.	Excellent	E
Four marks on at least half of the underlined elements, and no minus marks.	Very good	
Check marks on better on a majority of underlined elements, and any minus marks overcompensated by plus marks.	Good	
Check marks or better on a majority of underlined elements, and minus marks not overcompensated by plus marks.	Fair	
Minus marks on at least half of the underlined elements.	Unsatisfactory	

Rated by _____ (Signature of rating official) (Title) (Date)

Reviewed by _____ (Signature of reviewing official) (Title) (Date)

Rating approved by efficiency rating committee _____ (Signature) Report to employee _____ (Signature)

c.c.13 /

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION PAGE 1

TO DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL Date April 10, 1948

Name _____

From _____ Bureau No. _____

Nature of Recommendation _____

	FROM	TO
Position		Mr. Economic Analyst
Grade		GS-11
Salary		\$4,750.00
Bureau or Div.		Division of Monetary Research
Organizational Subdivision		
Headquarters		WASHINGTON, D.C.
Post of Duty		Assistant Secretary
Appropriation		Warren Stabilization Fund
Allowance		
Field or Capt.		

RESPECTIVE Remarks: _____

Justification: _____

Paul L. Kern
JMO ant

Francis Cox
Chief of Division Road

OK

CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER LEGAL AUTHORITY	
Title No. 2-5	
No. 47/48	
APPROPRIATION	
DATE OF BIRTH	
4/10/02	
MARITAL STATUS	
SEX	
RACE	
NATURE OF POSITION	
NEW	ADDP. IDENT.
VICE VACANCY	VICE
SUBJECT TO RETIREMENT ACT	
Yes	
DATE OF BIRTH	

The CHAIRMAN. We will stand adjourned if there is no further business.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 p. m., the committee was recessed, subject to call.)

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY
LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 11 a. m., pursuant to call, in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Herman Welker (acting chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Welker and McCarran.

Present also: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, special counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Robert McManus, professional staff member.

Senator WELKER. The meeting will come to order. Counsel may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Welker, yesterday afternoon the subcommittee received an answer from the request made to the Department of Justice with respect to its latest letter asking for the dissemination of the derogatory security information reports on William Ullmann, Irving Kaplan, Maurice Hyman Halperin, and Edward Fitzgerald.

In connection with Fitzgerald, the Justice Department said there would be a further delay in submitting that information. It is not yet ready.

In addition to the dissemination reports on the three individuals that I have mentioned, we received considerable other material that I would like to have go into the record.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Will you state for the record the purpose? It is to make a continuation of the record that you have built up heretofore?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, there were nine cases that the Internal Security Subcommittee has been working on with particularity. These are nine individuals whom our record shows to have been members of the Communist underground organization and who were retained in office long after derogatory security information was submitted to the various executive agencies of Government.

The reason that the committee selected these nine, as you know, was that they decided to take a sample grouping of nine and run those particular ones down. In the course of that accumulation, several names have been added; in fact, Ullmann's name was not on the original list, but because he was shown to have been so close to Harry Dexter White, that he, too, was brought into the situation.

The same thing happened for Solomon Adler, who, because of his important position in the United States Government up until 1950,

when he was Treasury attaché in China, had his name added. Those two names have been added in the course of the accumulation.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. The first document that came back, Senator Welker, is headed "Dissemination Listing." It says:

There is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination which was made on 10 individuals in letters and summaries disseminated to various agencies and individuals in the executive branch of the Government. The individuals referred to are as follows:

Solomon Adler
 Virginius Frank Coe
 Harold Glasser
 Maurice Hyman Halperin
 Irving Kaplan
 Victor Perlo
 Abraham George Silverman
 Nathan Gregory Silvermaster
 William Henry Taylor
 William Ludwig Ullmann

I might say that we have not requested the William Henry Taylor case, Senator, inasmuch as that was not one of the cases selected for particular scrutiny. William Henry Taylor was heard in executive session, but that is as far as we have gone on that case. However, it is here in the report, and, dependent on your wishes, shall we put it into the record?

Senator McCARRAN. I would say so.

Senator WELKER. I would suggest that it go into the record.

Mr. MORRIS. The listing sets out the individuals named in the summary. The remaining dissemination is set out separately, under the name of the individual.

Senator McCARRAN. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Senator WELKER. The Senator from Nevada.

Senator McCARRAN. In regard to these individuals whom you have named, where are they at the present time? Do you know? How, if at all, are they employed in this country?

Mr. MORRIS. I will go through the list, Senator.

Solomon Adler is now in England. Even though a naturalized American citizen, he has not returned to the country, and has allowed his passport to expire.

Virginius Frank Coe, as you know, was Secretary of the International Monetary Fund a year ago, when he was subpoenaed before the committee. Since that time he has taken some kind of commercial employment. He was dismissed by the International Monetary Fund.

Harold Glasser was, until the last few months, connected with a Jewish charitable organization in New York City.

Maurice Hyman Halperin is head of the Latin-American Studies Department at Boston University, if he has not been recently suspended. He was there when he appeared as a witness before our committee.

As to Irving Kaplan, I do not think I could tell you what he is doing.

Victor Perlo is working for the International Publishers, I believe, Senator, in New York City. At least the record will show precisely what he is doing.

We have not had dealings with Abraham George Silverman in 9 or 10 months.

Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and William Ludwig Ullmann are builders in New Jersey, and William Henry Taylor, mentioned here, even though we have not asked for his report, is presently employed in the International Monetary Fund.

This letter reads:

In the interest of brevity, dissemination data relating to all 10 individuals as set forth in the various documents described below and the listing sets out if the individual is named in the summary. The remaining dissemination is set out separately, under the name of the individual.

The first is the letter to Harry Hawkins Vaughan. The date is November 8, 1945, sent to the White House by means of a letter dated November 8, 1945.

In this letter the following individuals are mentioned: Halperin, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, and Ullmann.

There was a summary: "Soviet Espionage in the United States," dated November 27, 1945. Dissemination of that was to the White House in a letter to General Vaughan, dated December 4, 1945; Department of Justice, memorandum to the Attorney General, dated December 4, 1945; Department of State, letter to the Secretary of State, dated December 4, 1945; and a copy delivered personally to Mr. Fred Lyon for Spruille Braden on December 7, 1945; and the Department of the Navy, a letter to Secretary Forrestal, dated December 7, 1945, personally delivered on December 7, 1945.

In this summary the following individuals are mentioned:

Adler, Glasser, Halperin, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, Taylor, and Ullmann.

A summary, "Soviet Espionage in the United States," dated December 12, 1945, and a parenthetical remark is "(similar to November 27, 1945, summary)" was delivered by letter to Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to the President, dated February 20, 1946;

To the Department of State, in a letter to Mr. Lyon, dated March 15, 1946;

To the Department of the Army, letter to General Vandenberg, G-2, dated February 26, 1946, personally delivered, February 28, 1946;

Department of the Treasury, letter to Secretary Vinson, dated March 5, 1946, personally delivered March 6, 1946;

Department of Justice, copy delivered to Mrs. Stewart of the Attorney General's Office on July 24, 1946.

In this summary the following individuals are mentioned:

Adler, Glasser, Halperin, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, Taylor, and Ullmann.

With respect to those two reports, we have many sections of those particular reports in our record. That is, commencing last March or April we began to put fragments of the November 27, 1945, report into our record.

Here there is a summary memorandum on Harry Dexter White, dated February 1, 1946, delivered to the White House, letter to General Vaughan, dated February 1, 1946, personally delivered on February 4, 1946;

Department of Justice, letter to Attorney General, dated February 4, 1946;

Department of State, letter to Mr. Lyon dated February 1, 1946, personally delivered on February 4, 1946.

In this summary the following individuals are mentioned:

Adler, Coe, Glasser, Halperin, Kaplan, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, Taylor, and Ullmann.

Now, the next item, Senators, is a summary entitled: "Underground Soviet Espionage Organization (NKVD) in Agencies of the United States Government," dated February 21, 1946.

That was disseminated to the White House by means of a letter to General Vaughan, dated February 25, 1946, personally delivered, February 26, 1946;

To the Department of Justice, by letter to Attorney General, dated February 25, 1946, personally delivered February 26, 1946;

To the Department of State by letter to Secretary Byrnes, dated February 25, 1946, personally delivered February 26, 1946, and a memorandum to Mr. Lyon, dated March 13, 1946:

To Admiral Leahy, by letter to Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to the President, dated March 13, 1946;

To the Department of the Treasury, by copy to Secretary Vinson, personally delivered on March 4, 1946;

To the Central Intelligence Group by letter to Admiral Souers, dated April 2, 1946; and to the

Department of the Army, by letter to General Vandenberg, G-2, dated March 7, 1946, and personally delivered on March 8, 1946.

Senator McCARRAN. Just a moment right there, where you mentioned letters delivered to Admiral Leahy.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir; that is the report.

Senator McCARRAN. You mentioned letters delivered to him when he was adviser to the President?

Mr. MORRIS. When he was Chief of Staff to the President.

Senator McCARRAN. He was not Chief of Staff, was he? He was adviser to the President, was he not? Was Admiral Leahy ever Chief of Staff?

Senator WELKER. I believe he was adviser to the President.

Senator McCARRAN. He was on the President's staff. That is, he was adviser to the President.

Mr. MORRIS. I will try to ascertain that, Senator.

Senator McCARRAN. The reason I bring up the question, although it is not important, is that my understanding was that all of the reports with reference to Harry Dexter White were delivered to the Chief of Staff, as well as to the President at the time. What is the fact as to that? I am now speaking of the Chief of Staff.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, one of the persons receiving this distribution was General Vandenberg. Now, that was dated March 7, 1946. I do not know in what capacity he received that, Senator. Mr. Mandel is making a check now.

Senator McCARRAN. He would not have received it as Chief of Staff. He was head of the Air Force.

Senator WELKER. He was in G-2, Intelligence.

Senator McCARRAN. I do not know whether he was in Intelligence or not.

Senator WELKER. Yes; I believe he was, Senator.

Senator McCARRAN. I am interested in knowing whether or not reports on Harry Dexter White were delivered to the Chief of Staff.

If so, they should have found their way down to the proper echelon in the Army, it would seem to me. I do not know who was the Chief of Staff when these reports were sent in to the White House.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, Mr. Mandel is making a fast check right now, and I will have that information in just a few minutes.

The Department of the Treasury, copy to Secretary Vinson, personally delivered on March 4, 1946;

Central Intelligence Group, letter to Admiral Souers dated April 2, 1946;

Department of the Army, letter to General Vandenberg, G-2, dated March 7, 1946. Personally delivered on March 8, 1946.

In this summary the following individuals are mentioned:

Adler, Coe, Glasser, Halperin, Kaplan, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, Taylor, and Ullmann.

Senator, the reason that they list those particular individuals is because we have requested information on those particular people.

As you know from the 1945 summary, there are many other names mentioned.

Here is a short summary "Underground Soviet Espionage Organization (NKVD) in Agencies of the United States Government," dated February 21, 1946.

The parenthetical remark is:

This is a short summary broken down by Government agencies in which suspected individuals were employed.

Senator WELKER. For the purpose of the record, will you define what NKVD is?

Mr. MORRIS. That was the Soviet intelligence organization. In this summary the following individuals are mentioned:

Adler, Coe, Glasser, Halperin, Kaplan, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, Taylor, and Ullmann.

The next is a summary entitled "The Comintern Apparatus," dated March 5, 1946.

The agency or individual transmittal was:

Admiral Leahy, letter to Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to the President, dated March 7, 1946.

Again that description is given.

Department of Justice, memorandum to the Attorney General, dated March 7, 1946;

Department of State, letter to Secretary Byrnes dated March 7, 1946.

In this summary the following individuals are mentioned:

Adler, Glasser, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, and Ullmann.

Next is a summary entitled "Soviet Activities in the United States," dated July 25, 1946.

The agencies are to the White House, letter to Attorney General, July 25, 1946, enclosing 2 copies. One copy for White House for delivery to Clark M. Clifford, Special Counsel to the President;

Department of Justice, letter to the Attorney General, July 25, 1946, enclosing copy for the Attorney General; copy furnished Miss O'Donnell, of the Attorney General's Office, on August 5, 1948, at Attorney General's request.

In this summary the following individuals are mentioned: Adler, Coe, Glasser, Halperin, Kaplan, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, Taylor, and Ullmann.

Next is a summary "Underground Soviet Espionage Organization (NKVD) in Agencies of the United States Government," dated October 21, 1946.

Agency of individual transmittal:

White House, letter to George E. Allen, Presidential adviser, dated December 16, 1946. Personally delivered December 20, 1946;

Department of Justice, letter to Attorney General dated November 27, 1946; letter to Attorney General dated December 2, 1946, furnishing additional copy; letter to Mr. A. Devitt Vanech, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, on December 6, 1946;

Department of State, letter to Secretary of State, November 25, 1946, delivered November 26, 1946; and letter to Frederick B. Lyon, December 12, 1946, personally delivered December 13, 1946;

Department of the Treasury, memorandum to Assistant Attorney General T. Vincent Quinn, dated March 6, 1948, with copy to be made available to Mr. Edward Foley of the Treasury Department.

In this summary the following individuals are mentioned:

Adler, Coe, Glasser, Halperin, Kaplan, Perlo, Silverman, Silvermaster, Taylor, and Ullmann.

Next, Senators, is a summary memorandum entitled "Summary of Soviet and Satellite Espionage and Communist Activities in the United States," dated December 15, 1948.

Agencies are: The Department of Justice, transmittal memorandum to the Attorney General, dated December 17, 1948.

Senator McCARRAN. What do you mean by that? Your heading is Department of Justice and then you say "transmittal." Who transmitted it?

Mr. MORRIS. These, Senator McCarran, are the FBI reports.

Senator McCARRAN. In other words, the FBI reports were transmitted to the Department of Justice?

Mr. MORRIS. Transmitted to the Department of Justice by memorandum to the Attorney General, dated December 17, 1948, and then the next item is to the White House.

Senator McCARRAN. That was the FBI reports?

Mr. MORRIS. Senators, these are all FBI summaries: Letter, dated December 17, 1948, to Maj. Gen. Harry Hawkins Vaughan;

Department of Justice, memorandum to the Assistant Attorney General, Alexander M. Campbell, dated December 21, 1948;

Department of State, letter to George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, dated December 21, 1948, personally delivered December 22, 1948, to C. H. Humelsine, for General Marshall;

Department of Defense, letter to James V. Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, dated December 21, 1948, personally delivered to Colonel Wood, aide to Secretary Forrestal, December 22, 1948;

Department of the Air Force, letter to W. Stewart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force, dated December 21, 1948, personally delivered to Secretary Symington, December 22, 1948;

National Security Council, letter to Rear Adm. Sidney W. Souers, Executive Secretary, National Security Council, dated December 21, 1948.

This was delivered to J. P. Coyne, National Security Council, December 22, 1948.

Atomic Energy Commission, letter to David E. Lilienthal, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, dated December 21, 1948, personally delivered December 22, 1948;

Atomic Energy Commission, letter to Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Atomic Energy Commission, dated December 21, 1948, personally delivered December 22, 1948;

Department of the Army, letter dated December 21, 1948, to Maj. Gen. Stafford L. Irvin, Director of Intelligence, General Staff, Department of the Army, delivered to General Bolling, Intelligence Division of the Army, December 22, 1948;

Department of the Navy, letter to Rear Adm. Thomas B. Inglis, Chief of Naval Intelligence, Department of the Navy, dated December 21, 1948, personally delivered December 22, 1948; and

Department of the Air Force, letter to Maj. Gen. Charles P. Cabell, Director of Intelligence, Department of the Air Force, dated December 21, 1948, personally delivered December 22, 1948;

Central Intelligence Agency, letter to Rear Adm. Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter, Director, CIA, dated December 21, 1948, personally delivered December 22, 1948;

Department of State, George F. Kennan, Department of State, personally delivered January 6, 1949.

In this summary the following individuals are mentioned:

Adler, Coe, Glasser, Halperin, Kaplan, Perlo, Silvermaster, Taylor, and Ullman.

Finally, the investigative reports submitted by FBI field offices in case on "Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, et al., Espionage—R."

Prior to the presentation of the case to the Federal grand jury in the southern district of New York in 1947 and 1948, all investigative reports prepared up to that time were made available to the officials of the Department of Justice responsible for the prosecutive presentation of the facts. Reports prepared after the grand jury began hearing the testimony and those prepared subsequent to the termination of the Federal grand jury have been made available to the appropriate officials of the Department of Justice.

Senator McCarran, Who's Who shows that Admiral Leahy is listed as Chief of Staff between 1942 and 1950.

Senator WELKER. Chief of Staff to the President.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may this letter from Mr. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General, to Senator Jenner, dated December 15, 1953, with all the transmittal information, go into the record, together with this?

Senator WELKER. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(The document referred to was read into the record by Mr. Morris.)

Mr. MORRIS. Would you like me to read that, Senator?

Senator WELKER. I think it should be read for the record.

Mr. MORRIS. This is the letter from William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General:

DECEMBER 15, 1953.

DEAR SENATOR JENNER: Enclosed herewith are dissemination data concerning Solomon Adler, Virginius Frank Coe, Harold Glasser, Irving Sigmund Friedman, Maurice Hyman Halperin, Irving Kaplan, Victor Perlo, Abraham George Silverman, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, William Henry Taylor, and William Ludwig Ullmann.

You will notice that in addition to dissemination data concerning each individual, there are dissemination data covering instances where information relating to various groups of the above individuals was transmitted to a person or agency.

These enclosures are in compliance with Mr. Morris' request of November 19, 1953, and your letters of November 13, 19, and December 3, 1953, in connection with and supplementary to the Attorney General's testimony before your subcommittee on November 17, 1953. Similar information concerning Edward J. Fitzgerald, requested in your letter of December 3, 1953, is in the process of preparation, and will be forwarded as soon as completed.

This letter will also confirm that dissemination data, concerning the letter of November 8, 1945, and the memorandums of November 27, 1945, and February 1, 1946, relative to Harry Dexter White and others, requested during the Attorney General's testimony on November 17, 1953, and by Mr. Morris' letter of December 7, 1953, were furnished to the subcommittee, together with preliminary dissemination data concerning Adler, Coe, Glasser, and Perlo, on November 23, 1953.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Deputy Attorney General.

Senator, in connection with the individual dissemination reports, I would like to offer for the record eight of these. There are more submitted than we asked for.

Apparently there were several other related cases, such as Abraham George Silverman and William Henry Taylor. They are two. We are not quite ready for those, Senator.

I wonder if you will only take into the record the following eight: Virginius Frank Coe, Irving Kaplan, Solomon Adler, Harold Glasser, Maurice Hyman Halperin, Victor Perlo, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, and William Ludwig Ullman.

Senator WELKER. They will be admitted.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

RE VIRGINIUS FRANK COE

In addition to the dissemination which is being set forth separately concerning the above, there is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination made on this individual in other communications up to the date of his resignation from the International Monetary Fund on December 3, 1952.

LETTER FROM THE WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION DATED MAY 13, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General, dated May 17, 1947.

MEMORANDUM DATED APR. 27, 1948

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General, dated Apr. 27, 1948.

REPORT DATED MAY 15, 1951, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of the Treasury-----	Forwarded to Treasury Department, Feb. 28, 1952.
Department of State-----	Forwarded to State Department, Sept. 24, 1951.
Department of Justice-----	Forwarded to Division of Records, Sept. 24, 1951.

REPORT DATED JUNE 16, 1951, AT LOUISVILLE, KY.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Forwarded to the Assistant Attorney General, Nov. 20, 1952.
Civil Service Commission-----	Forwarded Nov. 20, 1952.

REPORT DATED JULY 12, 1951, AT CHICAGO, ILL.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Forwarded Nov. 20, 1952, to the Assistant Attorney General.
Civil Service Commission-----	Forwarded Nov. 20, 1952.

REPORT DATED APR. 17, 1952, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Forwarded to the Division of Records, May 1, 1952.
Department of the Treasury-----	Delivered personally on Aug. 14, 1952.
Department of State-----	Forwarded Aug. 14, 1952.
Department of the Army-----	Forwarded Sept. 29, 1952.

REPORT DATED APR. 23, 1952, AT RICHMOND, VA.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Forwarded to Assistant Attorney General, Nov. 20, 1952.
Civil Service Commission-----	Forwarded Nov. 20, 1952.

REPORT DATED MAY 10, 1952, AT MIAMI, FLA.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Forwarded to Assistant Attorney General, Nov. 20, 1952.
Civil Service Commission-----	Forwarded Nov. 20, 1952.

MEMORANDUM DATED NOV. 18, 1952

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Charles B. Murray, informing that copies of reports dated May 15, 1951, and Apr. 17, 1952, at Washington, D. C., were to be made available to Roy Cohn, Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

RE IRVING KAPLAN

In addition to the dissemination which is being set forth separately concerning the above there is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination made on this individual in other communications up to the date of his separation from the United Nations on May 29, 1952.

DEPARTMENTAL APPLICANT INVESTIGATION, 1938-39

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Copies of investigative reports were forwarded to Joseph B. Keenan, assistant to the Attorney General during 1938 and 1939.

SUMMARY MEMORANDUM ON WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMANN DATED FEB. 12, 1946

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of the Army-----	Letter to Lt. Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, G-2, dated Feb. 12, 1946. Personally delivered Feb. 18, 1946.

LETTER DATED OCT. 8, 1946

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
White House-----	Letter to George E. Allen, Presidential adviser, dated Oct. 8, 1946. Personally delivered Oct. 10, 1946.

LETTER DATED OCT. 30, 1946

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
White House-----	Letter to George E. Allen, Presidential adviser, dated Oct. 30, 1946. Personally delivered Oct. 31, 1946.

SUMMARY MEMORANDUM ON HARRY SAMUEL MAGDOFF, DATED DEC. 24, 1946

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General dated Dec. 26, 1946, enclosing summary memorandum.

MEMORANDUM DATED MAR. 7, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General on Mar. 7, 1947.

SUMMARY ON EDWARD JOSEPH FITZGERALD DATED SEPT. 10, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Commerce-----	Letter to W. A. Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, dated Sept. 10, 1947.

MEMORANDUM DATED OCT. 29, 1952

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Charles B. Murray dated Oct. 29, 1952.

REPORT DATED MAR. 8, 1951, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney dated Mar. 12, 1951.
Department of State-----	Memorandum to Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Division of Security, dated Mar. 12, 1951. Personally delivered Mar. 13, 1951.
Department of Justice-----	Date of transmittal unknown.

REPORT DATED APR. 25, 1951, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Report forwarded May 14, 1951.
Department of Justice-----	Report forwarded to Division of Records, May 14, 1951.

LETTER DATED APR. 30, 1951

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Letter to Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Division of Security, Department of State. Personally delivered May 1, 1951.

REPORT DATED JUNE 16, 1951, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Report forwarded to Division of Records, June 27, 1951.
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to State Department, June 28, 1951.
United States attorney, southern district of New York.	Date of transmittal unknown.

REPORT DATED OCT. 23, 1951, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State, Nov. 15, 1951.
Department of Justice-----	Report forwarded to Division of Records, Nov. 15, 1951.
United States attorney, southern district of New York.	Date of transmittal unknown.

REPORT DATED DEC. 26, 1951, AT DALLAS, TEX.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State, Jan. 8, 1952.
Department of Justice-----	Report forwarded to Division of Records, Jan. 8, 1952.
United States attorney, southern district of New York.	Date of transmittal unknown.

REPORT DATED JAN. 2, 1952, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Report forwarded to Division of Records, Jan. 15, 1952.
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State, Jan. 15, 1952.
United States attorney, southern district of New York.	Date of transmittal unknown.

REPORT DATED FEB. 25, 1952, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Report forwarded to Division of Records, Mar. 14, 1952.
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State, Mar. 14, 1952.
United States attorney, southern district of New York.	Date of transmittal unknown.

MEMORANDUM DATED MAR. 26, 1952

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Memorandum to Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Division of Security. Personally delivered Mar. 28, 1952.

MEMORANDUM DATED APR. 3, 1952

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General McInerney dated Apr. 3, 1952.
Department of State-----	Memorandum to Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Division of Security, dated Apr. 3, 1952.

MEMORANDUM DATED APR. 21, 1952

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney dated Apr. 21, 1952.
Department of State-----	Memorandum to Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Division of Security, dated Apr. 21, 1952.

MEMORANDUM TO STATE DEPARTMENT DATED MAY 2, 1952

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney dated May 2, 1952.
Department of State-----	Memorandum to Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Division of Security, dated May 2, 1952.

RE SOLOMON ADLER, WITH ALIASES, SCHLOMER ADLER, SOL ADLER, SHLOMOH ADLER

In addition to the dissemination which is being set forth separately concerning the above, there is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination made on this individual in other communications up to the date of his resignation from the Department of the Treasury on May 11, 1950.

SUMMARY ON SOLOMON ADLER DATED FEB. 21, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Letter to the Attorney General, Mar. 7, 1947.

LETTER DATED APR. 4, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Letter dated Apr. 4, 1947, to Assistant Attorney General McGregor.

MEMORANDUM DATED MAY 29, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General, dated May 29, 1947.

MEMORANDUM DATED MAR. 12, 1948

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	By memorandum dated Mar. 12, 1948, to Assistant Attorney General T. V. Quinn.

REPORT DATED APR. 9, 1948, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General T. V. Quinn, dated Apr. 14, 1948.

REPORT DATED JULY 6, 1948, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Letter to Assistant Attorney General T. V. Quinn, dated July 22, 1948.
Civil Service Commission-----	Letter to James E. Hatcher, July 22, 1948.

REPORT DATED JUNE 25, 1948, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Letter to Assistant Attorney General T. V. Quinn, July 22, 1948.
Civil Service Commission-----	Letter to James E. Hatcher, July 22, 1948.

REPORT DATED JUNE 26, 1948, AT CHICAGO, ILL.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General T. V. Quinn, July 22, 1948.
Civil Service Commission-----	Letter to James E. Hatcher, July 22, 1948.

REPORT DATED JUNE 26, 1948, AT LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General T. V. Quinn, July 22, 1948.
Civil Service Commission-----	Memorandum to James E. Hatcher, July 22, 1948.

REPORT DATED FEB. 11, 1949, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Letter to the Assistant Attorney General A. M. Campbell, Feb. 25, 1949.
Civil Service Commission-----	Memorandum to James E. Hatcher, Feb. 17, 1949.
Department of the Treasury-----	Memorandum to James H. Hard, Chairman, Loyalty Board, Feb. 17, 1949.

REPORT DATED FEB. 11, 1949, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General A. M. Campbell, Feb. 25, 1949.
Civil Service Commission-----	Memorandum to James E. Hatcher, Feb. 17, 1949.
Department of the Treasury-----	Memorandum to James H. Hard, Chairman, Loyalty Board, Feb. 17, 1949.

REPORT DATED FEB. 11, 1949, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General A. M. Campbell, Feb. 25, 1949.
Civil Service Commission-----	Memorandum to James E. Hatcher, Feb. 17, 1949.
Department of the Treasury-----	Memorandum to James H. Hard, Chairman, Loyalty Board, Feb. 17, 1949.

REPORT DATED FEB. 11, 1949, AT OMAHA, NEBR.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General A. M. Campbell, Feb. 25, 1949.
Civil Service Commission-----	Memorandum to James E. Hatcher, Feb. 17, 1949.
Department of the Treasury-----	Memorandum to James H. Hard, Chairman, Loyalty Board, Feb. 17, 1949.

LETTER DATED MAY 19, 1949

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Letter dated May 19, 1949, to Mr. Peyton Ford, Assistant Attorney General.

REPORT DATED FEB. 20, 1950, AT NEW YORK

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney, dated Feb. 27, 1950.
Civil Service Commission-----	Memorandum to James E. Hatcher, dated Feb. 27, 1950.

MEMORANDUM DATED APR. 17, 1950

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Civil Service Commission-----	Memorandum to James E. Hatcher, Chief, Investigations Division, dated Apr. 17, 1950.

MEMORANDUM DATED APR. 17, 1950

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General McInerney, dated Apr. 17, 1950.

Re HAROLD GLASSER

In addition to the dissemination which is being set forth separately concerning the above there is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination made on this individual in other communications up to the date of his resignation from the Department of the Treasury on December 31, 1947.

MEMORANDUM DATED APR. 3, 1941

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Mr. L. M. C. Smith dated Apr. 3, 1941.

MEMORANDUM DATED SEPT. 5, 1941

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant to the Attor- ney General Matthew F. McGuire dated Sept. 5, 1941.

REPORT DATED NOV. 7, 1941, AT CHICAGO, ILL.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State Jan. 21, 1943.

REPORT DATED NOV. 8, 1941, AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State on Jan. 21, 1943.

REPORT DATED NOV. 19, 1941, AT ST. PAUL, MINN.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State on Jan. 21, 1943.

REPORT DATED NOV. 19, 1941, AT CHICAGO, ILL.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State on Jan. 21, 1943.

REPORT DATED NOV. 27, 1941, AT CHICAGO, ILL.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State on Jan. 21, 1943.

REPORT DATED DEC. 3, 1941, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

*Agency**Transmittal*

Department of Justice-----	Report forwarded to Department of Justice on Apr. 14, 1942.
Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State on Jan. 21, 1943.
Department of Treasury-----	Letter to Secretary of Treasury dated Jan. 26, 1942.

REPORT DATED JAN. 13, 1942, AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

*Agency**Transmittal*

Department of State-----	Report forwarded to Department of State on Jan. 21, 1943.
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SUMMARY "SOVIET ESPIONAGE ACTIVITY" DATED FEB. 6, 1946

*Agency**Transmittal*

Attorney General-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General dated Feb. 7, 1946.
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MEMORANDUM DATED MAR. 7, 1947

*Agency**Transmittal*

Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General dated Mar. 7, 1947.
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MEMORANDUM DATED APR. 4, 1947

*Agency**Transmittal*

Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General D. W. McGregor dated Apr. 4, 1947.
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MEMORANDUM DATED MAY 17, 1947

*Agency**Transmittal*

Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General dated May 17, 1947.
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LETTER DATED SEPT. 4, 1947

*Agency**Transmittal*

Attorney General-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General dated Sept. 4, 1947.
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RE MAURICE HYMAN HALPERIN, WITH ALIASES, MAURY HALPERN, MAURICE HALPERN

In addition to the dissemination which is being set forth separately concerning the above, there is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination made on this individual in other communications up to the date of his resignation from the Department of State on May 31, 1946.

HATCH ACT INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS DATED DEC. 5, 1941; JAN. 15, 1942; MAR. 17, 1942

*Agency**Transmittal*

Office of Coordinator of Information---	Letter to Col. W. J. Donovan, Coordinator of Information, dated Mar. 27, 1942.
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LETTER DATED MAY 10, 1946

*Agency**Transmittal*

Department of State-----	Letter to Secretary of State, dated May 10, 1946.
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RE VICTOR PERLO, WITH ALIASES VICTOR PERLOW, NATHAN PERLOW, MARTIN STRIBLING

In addition to the dissemination which is being set forth separately concerning the above there is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination made on this individual in other communications up to the date of his resignation from the Department of the Treasury on March 27, 1947.

SUMMARY ENTITLED "SOVIET ESPIONAGE ACTIVITY," DATED FEB. 6, 1946

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Summary forwarded to the Attorney General on February 7, 1946.
Department of State-----	Letter to Frederick B. Lyon, dated Feb. 7, 1946. Personally delivered Feb. 11, 1946.

LETTER DATED MAR. 20, 1946, ENTITLED "P. BERNARD NORTMAN"

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Letter to Frederick B. Lyon, dated Mar. 20, 1946.

LETTER AND SUMMARY DATED JULY 15, 1946, REGARDING ROBERT TALBOTT MILLER III

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Letter to Frederick B. Lyon, dated July 15, 1946, delivered July 16, 1946.

SUMMARY MEMORANDUM DATED DEC. 24, 1946, ON HARRY SAMUEL MAGDOFF

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Attorney General, dated Dec. 26, 1946.

SUMMARY ON VICTOR PERLO DATED FEB. 21, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Letter to Attorney General, dated Mar. 7, 1947.

LETTER DATED MAR. 26, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of State-----	Letter to Secretary of State Marshall, dated Mar. 26, 1947.

RE NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER

In addition to the dissemination which is being set forth separately concerning the above, there is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination made on this individual in other communications up to the date of his resignation from the War Assets Administration on November 30, 1946.

MEMORANDUM DATED JUNE 30, 1941

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Mr. Matthew McGuire, assistant to the Attorney General, dated June 30, 1941.

REPORTS DATED FEB. 21, 1942, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.; MAR. 5, 1942, AT LOS ANGELES, CALIF.; APR. 8, 1942, AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.; APR. 23, 1942, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Board of Economic Warfare-----	Letter to Mr. Milo Perkins, Executive Director, Board of Economic Warfare, dated May 6, 1942.

REPORTS DATED FEB. 21, 1942, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.; MAR. 5, 1942, AT LOS ANGELES, CALIF.; APR. 8, 1942, AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.; APR. 23, 1942, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Agriculture-----	Letter to Mr. James L. Buckley, Assistant Director of Personnel, dated May 6, 1942.

REPORTS DATED FEB. 10, 1942, AT SEATTLE, WASH.; FEB. 21, 1942, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.; MAR. 30, 1942, AT ALBANY, N. Y.; APR. 23, 1942, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.; MAY 14, 1942, AT ALBANY, N. Y.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to Mr. Lawrence M. C. Smith, Chief, Special War Policies Unit, dated Sept. 1, 1942.

REPORTS DATED OCT. 6, 1942, AT SEATTLE, WASH.; OCT. 9, 1942, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Agriculture-----	Letter to Mr. T. Roy Reid, Director of Personnel, dated Nov. 17, 1942.

REPORT DATED SEPT. 3, 1943, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations.	Memorandum dated Sept. 17, 1943.

REPORTS DATED FEB. 10, 1942, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.; MAR. 5, 1942, AT LOS ANGELES, CALIF.; APR. 8, 1942, AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.; MAY 14, 1942, AT ALBANY, N. Y.; OCT. 6, 1942, AT SEATTLE, WASH.; OCT. 9, 1942, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Civil Service Commission-----	Forwarded July 21, 1944.

SUMMARY MEMORANDUM ON WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMAN DATED FEB. 12, 1946

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of the Army-----	Letter to General Vandenberg, G-2, dated Feb. 12, 1946. Personally delivered on Feb. 18, 1946.

RE WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMAN, WITH ALIASES WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMANN, LUD, LUD ULLMAN, LUDWIG ULLMAN

In addition to the dissemination which is being set forth separately concerning the above, there is being set forth hereinafter the dissemination made on this individual in other communications up to the date of his resignation from the Department of the Treasury on March 21, 1947:

MEMORANDUM ON WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMAN DATED FEB. 12, 1946

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of the Army-----	Letter to Lt. Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, G-2, dated Feb. 12, 1946. Personally delivered Feb. 18, 1946.

LETTER DATED MAR. 7, 1946

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
White House-----	Letter to General Vaughan Mar. 7, 1946.

SUMMARY MEMORANDUM ON WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMAN DATED MAR. 7, 1947

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Transmittal</i>
Department of Justice-----	Memorandum to the Attorney General dated Mar. 7, 1947.

MEMORANDUM DATED MAR. 17, 1947

Agency

Transmittal

Department of Justice----- Memorandum to the Attorney General
dated Mar. 17, 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. I will have made up a summary for the convenience of the Senators here, which will tell the distribution of the FBI reports on the individuals named here.

On Frank Coe, who was dismissed, I believe, from the International Monetary Fund on December 3, 1952, there were 9 reports, 9 FBI reports made out on him in connection with his Communist activities between the period May 13, 1947, and December 3, 1952.

Now, we have in our record previously, Senators, FBI reports and their dissemination prior to this particular date, May 13, 1947. I believe there are four of those, Senators, but the record will show how many there actually were.

Senator WELKER. Will you show what agencies received these reports and how many reports were received by them?

Mr. MORRIS. There were 9 reports in addition to the ones we have in the record, Justice got all 9; Treasury got 2; State Department got 2; the Army got 1 and Civil Service got 4.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. On Irving Kaplan, who was separated from the U. N. on May 29, 1952, which I believe was just at about the time that he appeared before this subcommittee, there were 20 reports between 1938 and May 29, 1952.

Justice got 15 of them; Army got 1; the White House got 2; Commerce got 1; State Department got 12; and the United States attorney in the southern district of New York got 5.

On Solomon Adler, who resigned from the Treasury Department as the Treasury attaché, on May 11, 1950, there were 17 FBI reports.

These reports, Senators, all relate to the individual's Communist activities.

February 21, 1947, to April 17, 1950, Justice got 16 of them; Civil Service got 10, and Treasury got 4.

On Harold Glasser, who resigned December 31, 1947, there were 14 reports.

These, Senators, are in addition to the reports we already have in the record.

Between April 3, 1941, and September 4, 1947, Justice received 8; State Department received 7; and Treasury received 1.

On Maurice Halperin, who resigned May 31, 1946, there were 4 reports, December 5, 1941, to May 10, 1946.

The Coordinator of Information received 1; State Department received 1; I think there must be a mistake in that summary, Senators, because there were 4 reports, and it shows dissemination to 2 agencies. (COI received 3.)

On Victor Perlo who resigned March 27, 1947, there were 6 reports, February 6, 1946, to March 26, 1947.

Justice received 3 and State Department received 4.

Nathan G. Silvermaster resigned November 30, 1946.

There were 24 reports, June 30, 1941, to February 12, 1946.

Justice received 6; Board of Economic Warfare received 4; Agriculture 6; Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigation, 1; Civil Service 6; and Army, 1.

William L. Ullmann, resigned March 21, 1947.

There were 4 reports, February 12, 1946, to March 17, 1947.

Army received 1; the White House, 1; and Justice 2.

Senators, as I say, that is the summation of the eight individual reports that I have offered for the record.

Senator McCARRAN. Drawing your attention to Maurice Halperin, there appear to have been four reports. He resigned May 31, 1946.

Between December 5, 1941, and May 10, 1946, there were 4 reports, but only 1 to COI and 1 to State, and none to the Department of Justice. Is that by any chance an oversight?

Mr. MORRIS. No; I noticed there the same thing, Senator.

It says the individual reports. As to the Hatch Act investigative reports, there were 3 of them, dated December 5, 1941, January 15, 1952, and March 17, 1952; those 3 were transmitted to Col. W. J. Donovan, Coordinator of Information, dated March 27, 1942; that should read 3 to COI.

Senator McCARRAN. There were none to the Department of Justice?

Mr. MORRIS. Apparently not. I was puzzled by the same thing, Senator, but you will notice that in the first thing that we read here today, the summaries of all Soviet underground activity, that in almost every case Halperin is mentioned. So this is an additional listing. I had the same problem.

For instance, the letter to Gen. Harry Vaughan mentioned Halperin.

The letter of November 27, 1945, mentioned Halperin.

The summary of Soviet espionage in the United States, dated December 12, mentioned Halperin.

Senator McCARRAN. As a rule, those FBI reports go to the Department of Justice, when they go to any other department. That is my understanding.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right, Senator, and I think the individual reports show that, too. That is why that one on Halperin seems to be unusual.

Senators, you will notice that we have not asked for the dissemination reports of Harry Dexter White, on the idea that the Attorney General has testified rather fully about the dissemination that was given to the report on Harry Dexter White, and we have not followed that further.

If you Senators think we should, we can also ask for subsequent dissemination, on Harry Dexter White.

Senator WELKER. I think that there should be some subsequent listing of the dissemination on Harry Dexter White given the committee, so that the record will be complete.

Mr. MORRIS. Senators, the only other thing I have here is Senator Jenner's letter to the Secretary of State, dated December 2, 1953, on the Gouzenko matter, which is not yet in our record.

Senator WELKER. Do you care to read it?

Mr. MORRIS. This is dated December 2, 1953.

Hon. JOHN FOSTER DULLES,

Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In reply to your letter of November 28, we are herein responding to the Canadian Government.

After looking over the record of the subcommittee, containing as it does many references to important information supplied by Mr. Gouzenko, concerning espionage in the United States, all of which have now been revealed by us, the subcommittee feels, in view of the seriousness of the matter, that it would be



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derelict if it neglected to accept any offer of the Canadian Government allowing us to hear Mr. Gouzenko.

In deference to Mr. Gouzenko's security, it is hoped that future arrangements be worked out by word of mouth and that steps be taken to protect the secrecy of these arrangements.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. JENNER.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Are there any questions?

Senator McCARRAN. What is the status of that Canadian matter now?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator McCarran, I spoke with Senator Jenner yesterday afternoon, and, as you know, he has been calling daily asking for reports on when the committee is going to hear Mr. Gouzenko, and we had postponed hearings all last week in anticipation of a visit to Canada.

We have been holding up several other matters, particularly some matters concerning the United Nations, pending that.

Senator Jenner yesterday said that, inasmuch as it is now getting so close to Christmas, rather than deferring the business any longer, that he would discontinue his present efforts to see Mr. Gouzenko before Christmas.

In other words, he had been trying to get the hearing over before Christmas, feeling that January would be a difficult month, in view of the meeting of Congress at that time.

Senator McCARRAN. I think he is very wise in that. As regards the secrecy and security of Gouzenko, I sometimes think that that is played up a little too strongly, because, with all the mention that has been made of his name and all the publicity that there has been about it, I doubt very much if we are affecting his security.

Senator WELKER. That is true, when you consider all of the interviews that he has given to leading newspapers and leading writers.

Mr. MORRIS. I think, Senators, that I might mention for the record, that after there was an exchange of correspondence last week, and there was a newspaper report concerning Mr. Gouzenko, two American newspapermen called me within an hour after the release was made and they had discussed the matter with Mr. Gouzenko, and reported that information back, and even said, "Would you like to speak to Mr. Gouzenko? He would be glad to talk to you."

I said, "I think I had better not speak to him."

Senator WELKER. That was due to an arrangement made by this committee that we would not discuss the matter.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. We have been very scrupulous in not having anything to do with Mr. Gouzenko, because we are dealing through the State Department and the Canadian Government, but he is being accessible, apparently, very readily, to American newspapermen.

Senator McCARRAN. That is what I have reference to there.

Senator WELKER. Do you have anything further, Counsel?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator, I have nothing more.

Senator WELKER. If not, the open meeting will suspend, and the acting chairman would like to have an executive meeting with Senator McCarran, and with the staff.

There will be no reporters present. We will not need a transcript.

(Whereupon, at 11:35 a. m. the committee proceeded into executive session.)

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